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C. W. E. COTTON, ESQ., C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.

Resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Kerala Society held on the 10th October 1931 with Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Avl, M. A., Vice-President of the Society, in the chair: —

1. That the Kerala Society place on record its sense of the irreparable loss sustained by it and by all Kerala by the untimely death of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., the Founder and President of the Society.

2. That the respectful sympathy of the Kerala Society be conveyed to Mrs. Cotton.

3. That steps be taken to obtain and preserve for the Society a suitable likeness of Mr. Cotton in commemoration of his great services to the Society as well as the people and culture of Kerala.

The Secretaries earnestly request the well-wishers of the Kerala Society to present to the Society old and rare books, manuscipts, copper-plates, paintings, bronzes, and other objects of antiquity bearing on Kerala History, Literature, and Art, for the creation of a Library and Museum for the Society as a memorial of Mr. Cotton. All such presents will be gratefully acknowledged.

14 JUL 1932

IN MEMORIAM

Our Late President

The Kerala Society, and the wider circle of students of Indian history, art, and letters, have sustained an irreparable loss by the death of Mr. Charles William Egerton Cotton, M. A., C. I. E., C. S. I., I. C. S., on the 7th of September 1931. Mr. Cotton was the founder and the first President of the Kerala Society. By unanimous request of the members of the Society he retained the office of President in spite of personal reluctance, even after his transfer from Travancore. His devotion to the Society was also signified by his finding time, in the midst of his very heavy duties as Secretary to the Government of Madras, Member of the Board of Revenue, and Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, to write frequently to the Secretaries of the Society in regard to the work to be done. To no one else does the Society owe so much as to him. In his relations to the Kerala Society he combined in himself the functions of Warren Hastings and Sir William Jones to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Mr. Cotton was a distinguished scion of an illustrious English family that has been connected with India through a series of generations. Mr. Josias Dupre, Governor of Madras, was a great great grandfather of his, and his grandfather retired from India in 1841 while he was a member of the Board of Revenue. Dr. George Cotton, Metropolitan of India, whose interest in Anglo-Indian education is perpetuated in the 'Bishop Cotton' schools at Bangalore and Simla, was a cousin of his grandfather's. And Sir Arthur Cotton, to whom the present agricultural prosperity of the Godavery and Tanjore Districts is largely attributable, was Mr. Cotton's great uncle.

Mr. Cotton, born on August 14, 1874, was the eldest son of the late Mr. C. C. Cotton, of Knolton Hall, Rubaon. He was educated at Eton and University College, Oxford, and entered the Indian Civil Service in 1897, and was posted to the southern Presidency, where he began his career as Assistant Collector at Coimbatore on the fringe of the famous tract with the people and culture of which he was to associate himself with so much distinction in the years to come. Mr. Cotton's official career was varied in distinction, and it was a fortunate circumstance that it took him over the whole of the Indian Empire. His connection with Kerala began with his appointment as Revenue Divisional Officer of Palghat in 1903, and he was destined to renew his service in Kerala after many years. Besides Malabar, where he served in several stations, his administrative duties took him also to the Districts of South Arcot, Kurnool, Salem, and Chingleput.

Within ten years of his entry into the I.C.S. Mr. Cotton's great and versatile qualities led to his translation for service directly under the Government of India. He was successively employed as Assistant Director of Statistics, Calcutta, Director General of Commercial Intelligence (1903—10), Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance Department (1912—15), and Collector of Customs, Calcutta (1916—21). He has also served as Collector of Imperial Customs, Rangoon. In the interval Mr. Cotton had resumed service under the Government of Madras as Officiating Director of Industries (1909—10) and Deputy Secretary to Government (1911—12). In 1920 he went on special duty to England as India's representative in the Imperial Statistical Conference, and

returned to Madras to take up the post of Director of Industries (1921—22). In 1923 he became British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, and later in the same year the first Agent to the Governor-General, Madras States (1923—28). Towards the end of 1928 Mr. Cotton returned to Madras to take up the duties of Secretary to Government, Local Self Government Department, and later became a member of the Board of Revenue and still later Chief Secretary to Government (1929—31).

It was natural that an official career of such varied activities and distinctions should lead to many honours. Mr. Cotton was awarded the C. I. E in June 1920, and the C. S. I. eleven years afterwards (June 1931).

Mr. Cotton represented in many of his personal qualities the type of the great administrators, commoner a hundred years ago than today, who combine skill in Government with an abiding and living interest in the history, art, and letters of, and an affection to. the people committed to their charge. Had he the requisite opportunities and the leisure his personal output as an author might have given him an honourable place with men like Elphinstone, Malcolm, and Henry Elliot.

Besides fugitive addresses and articles the only publications of his, which remain as evidence of some of his varied talents, are *A Review of the Trade of India*, 1903 and 1910, *Calcutta Chatterbox* published in 1918, and *A Handbook of Commercial Information*—a model of its kind—which was first published in 1919 and reached a second edition in 1924.

Mr. Cotton had an unusual interest in Kerala and an abiding affection for its people and culture. This was signified not only in the foundation of the Kerala Society, but also in the vivid interest with which he followed the proceedings of the Travancore University Committee which functioned when he was Resident in Travancore and Cochin. The development of the Trichur Museum (Cochin), the stimulus given to archaeological work in Travancore and Cochin, and the arrangement made for a series of lectures at Trivandrum on Indian art by Mr. O. C. Gangoly are other instances of it. Many a student of Kerala history has received not only his inspiration but also substantial encouragement and reward from Mr. Cotton, and the number of skilled craftsmen in Kerala and in Bengal who benefited by his discriminating patronage should be very large. His generosity in these directions, though kept secret, knew no limits. Mr. Cotton was a famous collector of Indian paintings and bronzes, and works of art in general.

The Kerala Society which remains the only organized institution for carrying on the work in Kerala which was foremost in Mr. Cotton's programme of extra-official activities, will always cherish not merely a recollection of what he has done to found and to guide the Society in its infant years, but keep before it his high ideals of achievement and passionate love for the culture of Kerala.

Mr. Cotton married in 1925 the younger daughter of Sir Philip Mainwaring. The profound and respectful sympathy of the Kerala Society is offered to Mrs. Cotton in her bereavement.

IIA

C. W. E. COTTON, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.
FOUNDER AND FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE KERALA SOCIETY

DAILY NEWS PRESS, KOTTAYAM

2. Rev. Wm. Saunders Hunt, A. K. C.

By the almost sudden death of the Rev. W. S. Hunt the Kerala Society has lost one of its most enthusiastic members and one of the veteran contributors to its journal. The following account of his life by Mrs. Hunt is taken from the Travancore and Cochin *Diocesan Magazine* of May 1931.

The Rev. W. S. Hunt was born at Hull in Yorkshire on January 17, 1865.

His father was a newspaper proprietor and started both 'The Western Morning News' in Devonshire and 'The Eastern Morning News' in Yorkshire.

William was the eldest son and he was sent as a boy to the East Riding College in Hull. When he was only thirteen years old, he came out top in the highest class, although he was the youngest boy in it. His father, fearing the effect of so much study, took him away from school and put him into his own Printing Works, where he began at the beginning by setting up type, and where he mixed with the ordinary work people and learnt to sympathise with them and to know their difficulties and trials.

At seventeen years old his father sent him to a bank in South Africa for two years to qualify for a business life. On his return, instead of using the money sent on a first-class passage, he took a coasting steamer and stopped at some of the important towns on the East Coast of Africa. The London Times, one of the leading papers in England, published an article of his, written then.

On his return at nineteen years old, he became sub-editor on his father's newspaper and for nine years did the night work on it. During this time he mixed with many men who became well known in political and literary circles. He and his younger brother had a fund of mimicry and power of acting which made them very popular, and they often took part in the plays of the amateur Dramatic Society and might even have taken this up as a profession; but at his confirmation William had dedicated himself to God, and his desire grew and grew to be a clergyman. This was prevented for some years by his father's death and because the charge of the business and the care of his younger brothers and sisters devolved on him. At that time too the newspaper, which had been yielding real profit, was ruined by the papers coming from London and by party politics. So William sold the business and brought his mother and sisters to London, where he took up journalism and was for a time editor of 'The Shipping World.'

As soon as the family were settled, he again thought of ordination and went to study at King's College, London, and after two years was ordained by the Bishop of London to the curacy of St. Mathew's, Fulham, a very large parish in London close to Lambeth Palace.

When on a trip to Palestine, his missionary spirit was aroused, and on his return to Fulham he offered himself to the C. M. S. and was sent to Trichur in the Cochin State, where the Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Bishop were then stationed.

Thus at forty years old he started to learn Malayalam and do all the many labours of an itinerant missionary.

During the ten years 1905 to 1915 he worked in the Alleppey and Alwaye and Trichur Districts and had services amongst the English congregations in Alleppey, Cochin and Ernakulam and charge of the Leper Asylums in Alleppey. He also taught for a year at a time in the Cambridge Nicholson Institution, the Kottayam College and the Buchanan Institution, Pallam, while the other missionaries were away on furlough.

In the beginning of 1917 when the Rev. W. A. Stephens was called Home he came to Tiruwalla; and for a time during the Rev. J. H. Osmaston's furlough and again after his sudden death he took on the work at Alwaye also visiting it occasionally with Alleppey from Tiruwalla. In the later years he was manager of the Mavelikara Bishop Hodges High School, and of the Tiruwalla Boys' and Girls' Schools, and Secretary of the C. M. S. and C. E. Z. M. S., and in trust of Munro Island affairs; also the editor of the Mass Movement Quarterly, which deals with the coming in of the outcastes into the Church from the five areas in India where the C.M.S. is working. This meant much work and correspondence. Also he edited the Diocesan Record and was on every Board meeting as C. M. S. Representative. It was his joy to be able to go out on Sunday to any distant village where the poor people lived to take the Holy Communion and other services for them. The walk to and from the villages and the ministration of services kept him fit all the week, he said.

During the furloughs in England he was often at the C. M. S. Headquarters or doing deputation work for the Society. On one furlough, 1915, while the great war was on, he spent some time in France working in a Y. M. C. A. hut and was chaplain in the chief hospital in Boulogne during the second terrible battle of Ypres, where he helped the stretcher bearers and the nurses and ministered to the wounded and dying. Shortly before leaving England in 1915 he came home from France and went to Aldersshot to help in the Y. M. C. A. hut there, and he only left this on the day of the dismissal of the C. M. S. Missionaries for the mission fields.

He never slackened his work and was capable of the greatest drudgery as well as of the highest literary effort. He has written many short articles and essays for missionary magazines and newspapers in England and out here, to some of which he did not even sign his name, and to others just put 'H.'

Two portrait sketches of his were in the National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, London. The pictures in his History of the Anglican Church in Travancore were his productions from old faded photos or other sketches. He was preparing to do some more of these during the holidays in April and to complete the second volume of his book, but the Lord needed him very quickly. On Saturday he laid down his work, and on Monday, March 9th, he, who followed the Lord in serving the highest and the lowest of His people, entered into the presence of Christ, where there is no pain nor suffering, and where those words 'with Christ...which is far better' are fulfilled.

Ellen C. Hunt.

Vide his article 'Slavery in Kerala' in Series 5 of *K. S. P.* At the request of the Secretary he planned other articles for the Kerala Society, and some of the pictures referred to above were for illustrating them. Mr. Hunt wrote a very beautiful Malayalam hand, and knew the language well.

3. Mr. John Chandy

Mr. John Chandy was born at Koduvalanji near Mavelikkara on the 6th September 1854. His father was the Rev. Jacob Chandy Senior, the first Indian and the first Syrian Christian to be ordanied as a deacon of the C. M. S. in Travancore. His father hails from Aymanam, a suburb of Kottayam, but he was born while his father was the pastor of the C. M. S. church at Koduvalanji. He had his early education at the small parish school in that village, and afterwards at the C.M.S. College at Kottayam, from where he matriculated in the year 1871. He was a student of the late Rev. J. H. Bishop and was very strong in Mathematics and good in English. In 1871 he was the only student sent up for Matriculation from his class, and passed very high. It is said that even before the results of the examination were known, and while he was barely 17 years old, he was taken temporarily as a teacher in the C.M.S. College and given charge of one of the highest classes. Later on he took up work as a teacher in the Basel Mission School in Tellicherry, while he was only 17 years old. He worked there for 4 years and then worked as a teacher under the late Mr. Sealy in the Government High School at Ernakulam in Cochin. He worked there for 14 years and was subsequently appointed superintendent of the C. M. S. Press at Kottayam. He was Superintendent of the Press for 28 years (1891—1918), and after retirement in 1918 spent 12 years of his life in his own house 'Kailas', at Muttappalam east of Kottayam town, where he died on 28th February 1930

Even from his younger days he had a strong literary taste and was a voracious reader. He had a store of general knowledge gathered by his wide reading and could enlighten any one on any subject. Historical research had a fascination for him. His library contains many old and rare books which he had collected to help him in his research work. He has contributed many articles to newspapers and journals, mostly on the history of the Syrian Church in Malabar, the History of the C. M. S. in Travancore and Cochin, and the history of most of the oldest Christian Churches in Travancore. He has contributed a series of articles in English and Malayalam to the "Churchman's Friend" (സഭാംഗമിത്രം), where he established the fact that there was no historical evidence worth the name to prove the Apostolic origin of the Syrian Church in Malabar, and that the alleged South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas was based only on worthless tradition. There was no one then coming forward to refute his arguments although he had challenged others to do so. He did not categorically affirm or deny the apostolic origin, but thought that so far there was no historic evidence to prove the same. His illustrated article on the first Malayalam printing in Malabar, that recently appeared in series 4 of Kerala Society Papers may still be fresh in the minds of many.

He started several Malayalam journals and was himself editor of some of them. "The Friend of Malabar" (മലയാളമിത്രം) was the first one started and edited by him, and in those days when Malayalam journalism was in its infancy, this paper was considered to be one of the best as it dealt with all

sorts of subjects of varied interest to all classes of people, old and young. The others are The Treasury of Knowledge, The Family Friend, The Churchman's Friend, and the Kerala Tharaka (ജ്ഞാനനിക്ഷേപം, കുടുംബപ്രിയവാദിനി, സഭാംഗമിത്രം, കേരളതാരക.) This last mentioned newspaper had a wide circulation and great influence in Travancore. He compiled also several useful books especially for the use of the Anglican Church, such as the "Church Hymns," an abridged edition of the " Prayer Book ", and published several pamphlets and leaflets. Towards the close of his life he was engaged in writing a history of the C. M. S. in Travancore and Cochin, but was not able to complete it and make it ready for publication.

Among his other activities may be mentioned his lead as President of the "Civic Rights League" for claiming equality of citizenship for all castes and classes of people in Travancore. It was mainly and primarily through his active support of the propaganda that it became a success. He was able to take the lead in many schemes beneficial to the church to which he belonged. The C. M S. Press greatly developed under his able management. It may rightly be said that it is a creation of Mr. John Chandy. Latterly he was greatly interested in the question of raising the C. M. S. College at Kottayam to the first grade. The last occasion on which he appeared in public was when he moved at a meeting of the Diocesan Council with great vehemence and enthusiasm a resolution for that raising of that College to the first grade. He passed away soon afterwards not being destined to see the fruit of his labour.

Jacob J. Chandy.

Vide his article 'Benjamin Bailey and the Kottayam C.M.S Press' in Series 4 of K.S. P. He was one of the well-informed and valued contributors to the journal of the Kerala Society, and had intended to contribute further articles and lend to the Society some more old pictures and documents.

R. I. P.

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Kerala Society Papers

VOLUME II, SERIES 7

Are Malayalis Tamilians ?*

(By T. Lakshmana Pillai, B. A.)

"TO be open-minded, to struggle against preconceptions and hold them in due subjection, to keep the avenues of the intelligence free and unblocked, to take pains that the scales of the judgment should be always even and fair, to welcome new truths when they have proved their title, despite the havoc they may make to old and cherished beliefs,—these may sound like commonplace qualities well within every man's reach, but experience shows that in practice they are the rarest."

—*Asquith.*

I have had occasion to quote this saying of Asquith more than once. But its wisdom is such that it will bear repetition any number of times. The qualities named are the ones most rarely cultivated in practice, but they are, I think, the identical qualities we require to be equipped with in our search after truth, equally as in our dealings with men. Some of us may imagine that we have got these qualities within us in the fullest measure, but when the search-light of introspection is turned inwards, we may probably hesitate to give ourselves full credit for having them. The building up of a correct judgment, as of character, is a matter of effort, and we cannot one fine morning dream ourselves into it. I cannot help observing generally that, among other disturbing elements, excessive patriotism and supreme self-satisfaction, both concomitants of too much self-love and working against open-mindedness, act as the greatest impediments to the discovery and promulgation of the truth.

The evidences which I have to furnish on the subject of today's paper may seem scrappy, as they are mostly culled from Tamil and Malayalam literature, which may not find correspondences in written history or chronicle. But so far as they go, they must be taken to be conclusive, two of them at any rate being the testimony of two Epic stars of the first magnitude in Tamil literature, viz Ilankovadigal and Sekkizhar, the authors of Chilappadikaram and Periapuranam respectively. As a matter of fact, the real ancient history of Kerala is yet to be written, and whatever can be written as history in relation to that period must be mostly based on the light thrown upon it by ancient Tamil literature and what can be gathered from the region of archaeological research. No certain landmarks have yet been discovered beyond the dim lights of solitary inscriptions, at long intervals, from about the begining of the Christian era up to about the 13th or 14th century, (i. e.) up to the advent of European travellers and colonisers. The said period with the exception of the uncertain light thrown upon it by works like the Keralol-

* A paper read before the Kerala Society, Trivandrum, on 24—1—1931.

p athi, written by ill-informed or interested writers, is now a big blank for us. But the evidences furnished by the ancient Tamil classics are pointed, clear and definite, so far as they go, and it will be seen that there are innumerable Tamil poetical pieces gathered into the Tamil anthologies, such as புறநானூறு (Purananuru), அகநானூறு (Ahananuru), ஐங்குறுநூறு (Ainkurunuru), நற்றிணை (Nattinai), குறுந்தொகை (Kurunthokai), பத்துப் பாட்டு (Pathuppattu), &c, composed by Tamil poets in the Chera country, or Tamil poets who, though hailing from beyond, sang in honor of Chera Kings. I shall have occasion to mention some of their names in the course of this paper. In the present condition of utter ignorance regarding Chera history during the first ten centuries of the Christian era, I think that any light thrown upon them by the ancient Tamil literature must be quite welcome.

Coming to the subject in hand, one of the chief evidences pointing to the identity of the Malayalis and Tamilians is that furnished by the language spoken in Kerala in ancient times, which we learn from Tamil literature to have been what was known as கொடுந்தமிழ் (Koduntamil) or a dialectic variety of the Tamil language (திரிபுடைத் தமிழ்மொழி).

The inference that Tamil was the language originally spoken by the Malayalis is based upon various facts and circumstances:—

i. The presence of evidence in Tamil literature that poetical works in Tamil were written in ancient times by authors who lived in the Chera country.

ii. The absence of any evidence to show that works in Malayalam, whether in prose or poetry, were written during the period in which the poetical works in Tamil were written, and that Malayalam in its present form or in any primitive form different from contemporary Tamil of the East Coast, was spoken by the ancient inhabitants of Kerala during the early centuries of the Christian era.

iii. A clear and definite statement in the சிலப்பதிகாரம் (Chilappadikaram), one of the five great ancient epics in the Tamil language whose author was the Chera Prinee இளங்கோ வடிகள் (Ilankovadigal), expressly giving the geographical limits of the Tamil language (to be quoted further on).

iv. The confirmation of this statement by (a) Passages in Tolkappiam and other works describing the கொடுந்தமிழ் நாடுகள் (Kodumtamil nads) so as to embrace the Chera country. e. g. the following verse:—

தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங்கற்கா வெண்பூழி
பன்றியருவா வதன் வடக்கு
நன்றாய்ச் சீதமலைநாடு புனனாடு
செந்தமிழ் சேரத் தமிழ்ப் பன்னிரு நாடென்

(b) The fact that the whole of South India, including the Chera country(modern Kerala), was once known as தமிழகம் (Tamizhakam or the Home or Land of the Tamils)— a fact which can be substantiated by the word தமிழகம் (Tamizhakam) having been employed in the copper plates and literary works in the Tamil nad. This word தமிழகம் (Tamizhakam) was corrupted into "Lamurike" or "Limurike" by the Greek writers on India in the first and second centuries A. D, Pliny, Ptolemy and the author of the "Periplus."

To illustrate the use of the word தமிழகம் (Tamizhakam) in ancient Tamil literature, I make the following extracts:—

(1) From பதிற்றுப்பத்து (Fathitruppatthu) பதிகம் (Pathikam) 2:—

"அமைவரலருவி யிமையம் விற்பொறித்
திமிழ்கடல் வேலித் தமிழகம் விளங்க"

It will be seen further on that the description "இமிழ்கடல் வேலித் தமிழகம்" (i. e. Tamizhakam fenced by the sounding sea), agrees with the boundaries of the Tamil nad given in சிலப்பதிகாரம் (Chilappadikaram, "குணகுட கடலாம்.... தண்டமிழ் வரைப்பிற்" (i. e. bounded on the east and west by the sea).

(2) From சிலப்பதிகாரம் (Chilappadikaram), காதை (kathai) 3, line 37:—

"இமிழ்கடல் வரைப்பிற் றமிழகமறிய" (i. e. known to Tamizhakam, bounded by the sounding sea).

(3) From புறநானூறு (Purananuru), poem 168, line18:—

"வையக வரைப்பிற் றமிழகங் கேட்பப்
பொய்யாச் செந்நா நெளிய வேத்திப்
பாடுப வென்ப பரிசிலர் நாளும்."

Thus by internal and external evidence, it may be taken as established that the whole of South India was known eighteen hundred years ago by the name of தமிழகம் (Tamizhakam). Vide also Kanakasabai Pillai's, "Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago."

v. The evidence furnished by the Malayalam language itself. That Malayalam is the daughter of Tamil, in plain words, only a dialectic variety of it, can be established by—

(a) Its general groundwork from a grammatical and syntactical point of view.

(b) Its vocabulary.

As regards (a), Dr G. Oppert says:—

"A language can adopt and create as many words as it pleases without changing its character, but it cannot alter its grammar, its syntax, without becoming another, for grammar represents the inmost mode of thought over which the individual person or nation has no real control.............. This very fact proves that the original language of a people indicates its race and vice versa. Comparative philology and ethnology, therefore, are allied, sciences which supplement each other. No system of comparative philology is true unless it fulfils this condition."

We may therefore feel sure that if it is proved by authentic evidence that the ancient Malayalis were speaking in Tamil and in Tamil only, it may be taken as proved, unless positive evidence to the contrary can be produced from similar authentic sources, that the orginal language of the Malayalis was Tamil, and that fact again would indicate that they belonged to the Tamilian race.

As regards the structure or groundwork of the language, let us examine a few sentences in Tamil and compare them with correponding sentences in Malayalam:—

Ordinary Tamil.	High Tamil.	Malayalam.
1. நான் வந்தேன்	1. யான் வந்தேன்	1. ഞാൻ വന്നു
2. நான் போய்விட்டு வந்தேன்	2. யான் போய் வந்தேன்	2. ഞാൻ പോയേച്ചു വന്നു
3. நான் சாப்பிடப் போய்விட்டு வந்தேன்	3. யான் உண்பான் போய்வந்தேன்	3. ഞാൻ ഉണ്ണാൻ പോയേച്ചു വന്നു
4. நான் பசித்திருக்கமுடியாமல் வீட்டுக்குப் போய்விட்டுவந்தேன்	4. யான் பசித்திருக்க முடியாது வீட்டிற்சென்று உண்டு வந்தேன்.	4. ഞാൻ വിശന്നിരിക്കാൻ കഴിയാഞ്ഞ വീട്ടിൽ ചെന്നു ഉണ്ടേച്ചു വന്നു.
5. கேசவன் அனந்தனால் கொல்லப்பட்டான்	5. கேசவன் அனந்தனாற் கொல்லப்பட்டான்	5. കേശവൻ അനന്തനാൽ കൊല്ലപ്പെട്ടു
6. என்னுடைய வருத்தம் அறிந்திருந்தும் நீ இப்படிச் செய்யலாமோ.	6.° என்றன் முட்டுப்பாடு அறிந்திருந்தும் நீ இங்ஙனம் செய்யலாமோ	6. എന്റെ മുട്ടു അറിഞ്ഞിരുന്നിട്ടും നീ ഇങ്ങനെ ചെയ്യാമോ
7. அவன் கொடுத்தான் ஓரடி.	7. அவன் கொடுத்தான் ஓரடி.	7. അവൻ കൊടുത്തു ഒരടി.

Leaving out the fact that the endings of the verbs are now genderless in Malayalam, we see a striking similarity in the construction of the sentences in other respects. The still greater similarity of the High Tamil to Malayalam is due to the greater affinity of the vocabulary.

As regards (b), that is, the vocabulary, of the Malayalam language, I venture to state that from a thorough-going examination of this vocabulary, it will be found that most of those words which cannot be traced to Sanskrit origin are clearly derived from Tamil. Firstly, we shall examine certain words which on the surface do not seem to wear a Tamilian garb, and look as if they were neither Tamil nor Sanskrit, but which on closer scrutiny, will reveal their Tamilic origin. In this connection, I may be permitted to state here that as far as I have been able to study pure (that is non-Sanskritic) Malayalam words, excluding a few Hindustani or Engligh words Malayalamised, I have not yet come across a single word whose origin I could not trace to Tamil either at once, or after some little thought:—

ഇന്നലെ. This is the old Tamil word நெருநல் (Nerunal) after having passed through various stages thus:—நெருநல் (Nerunal), நென்னல் (Nennal), நென்னலை (Nennalai), இன்னலை (Innalai). For the first three, there is usage in Tamil literature itself. For the use of the word நெருநல் (Nerunal), see the Kural:—

"நெருநலுளனொருவன் இன்றில்லை யென்னும் பெருமையுடைத்திவ்வுலகு",

Or, we may regard ഇന്നലെ as a compound of இ + நலை found in நென்னலை (Nennalai).

മിനിഞ്ഞാന്ന്. The Malayalam equivalent for the Tamil முந்தாநாள் (day before yesterday) is derived from an old Tamil compound word முன்னை + ஞான்று = முந்திய நாள் or the day previous to (yesterday). The stages it passed through are:—முன்னை ஞான்று, முனை ஞான்று, மினிஞான்று, மினிஞ் ஞாந்று. Or, முன் ஞான்று, மின் ஞான்று மினிஞ் ஞான்று, മിനിഞ്ഞാന്ന്.

പടിഞ്ഞാറ്. Tamil படி + ஞாயிறு = ஞாயிறு படிகின்ற திசை, or where the sun sets, that is, west. In those parts of the Tamilnad where the sun sets over the hills, the word for west is மேற்கு, literally, *above*. As in Kerala the sun sets in the sea, the word പടിഞ്ഞാറ was coined. The order of the parts of the word was transposed under the same rule as in, முன்றில் (= இல் + முன்) அறுதலி (= தாலி + அறு). விளக்கித்தலை (= தலை + விளக்கி).

ഉയ്ഞ്ഞായ്. This is the old Malayalam word for *east*, employed in early Malayalam poetry. It is the corruption of the Tamil compound word உதி + ஞாயிறு, (ഉതി + ഞായിറ = where the sun rises, that is, *east*) The word in Tamil for east, viz, கிழக்கு (കിഴക്ക), was not then used, as it suggested the sun rising *below*, (for the use of the word கிழக்கு in the sense of *below*, see the Kural), that is, in the sea and not over the hills, as is the case in Kerala. The word கிழக்கு, however, was adopted later on. (உயர் ஞாயிறு = உயஞ்ஞாறு—T. K. J.)

ഉരിയാട്. Corruption of the Tamil compound word உரை + ஆடு = to converse.

മിടുക്ക്. Ancient Tamil மிடுக்கு. See "மிடுக்கில்லாதானை வீமனே" in St. Sundarar's poems. See also its use in the Tamil proverb "மிடுக்கன் சரக்கு இருக்கத் தெரியும்." (മിടുക്കൻ ശരക്ക ഇരുക്കത്തെരിയും).

വകതിരിവ്. Corruption of Tamil வகை + தெரிவு = knowledge of class or rank, discrimination.

ഇടപാട് = Tamil இடை + பாடு, that is, what passes between, transaction.

അമ്പോ ! is an interjection commonly used in Middle and North Travancore. Corruption of Tamil அன்பே! = O, Love! (cf. English O, Goodness!). This shews that the idea that God is Love was known to the ancient Tamilians.

തെളിവ്. From the Tamil root தெளி= clear. தெளிவு (തെളിവ്) is used in the sense of "what makes clear" (தெளியச் செய்வது எதுவோ அது), that is, *evidence*. This is a better word than ருஜு (Ruju), a foreign word used by the Tamilians on the east at present.

മുറുക്ക്. Tamil, முறுக்கு=stimulation; applied in Malayalam to the chewing of betel and nut, mixed with chunam, for there is stimulation in it. Cf. Tamil முறுக்காயிருக்கிறான்.

കൈക്കൂലി. Tamil கை+கூலி = bribery. This is a better Tamil word than லஞ்சம், used by the Tamilians at present. லஞ்சம் is Sanskrit lamcha.

കൈയേറ്റം. Tamil கை+ஏற்றம்=Forcible entry, house-breaking, trespass.

കവർച്ച. Tamil கவர்ச்சி (കവർച്ചി)=taking wrongful possession.

വീഴ്ച. Tamil வீழ்ச்சி (വീഴ്ച്ചി)=a fall; a slip, a fault. (cf. താഴ്ച=Tamil தாழ்ச்சி. വാഴ്ച = Tamil வாழ்ச்சி. കാഴ്ച = Tamil காட்சி.)

എത്തി. Tamil எய்தி=attained, reached.

ഊപ്പാട്. Tamil ஊர்ப்பாடு=much ado in the town, much ado.

വെള്ളാഴ്മ. Tamil வேளாண்மை(വേളാൺമൈ), applied to a class of Nairs in Malabar. Note the word as applied to the class Vellalars or Velalars among the Tamils.

മേൽക്കോയ്മ. Tamil மேல்+கோன்மை. கோன்மை means sovereignty or suzerainty, and is derived from கோன் (Kone), meaning King.

കൊച്ചു. Corruption of Tamil குச்சு (whose root form is குஞ்சு =small), as in 'குச்சு வீடானாலும் மச்சு மாளிகையானாலும்'

ചെറുക്കൻ. Tamil சிறுவன், The ending கன் in such cases is used in Malayalam.

ഏറ്റിടുക. Tamil ஏறிடுதல்=To make an entry in a register.

ഒവ്വ്. This word is used in Middle Travancore for 'yes' or 'yea'. This is the same as the Tamil word ஒவ்வும் with the ம் dropped, (another form of ஒக்கும்).

ഒവ്വാ. A word similarly used for 'no' or 'nay'. Tamil ஒவ்வா, without any change.

വരവ്. The Malayalam form of the Tamil உவா, உவவு found in ancient Tamil literature. Cf. நிலா, நிலவு in Tamil (Malayalam നിലാവ്).

മിഴാവ്. Tamil முழவு, a large drum.

പുറനീർ. The name of a Sopana raga, corresponding to the Tamil pun 'புறநீர்மை'. (പുറനീർമൈ).

ഇന്ദിശ. The name of another Sopana raga Corruption of the Tamil word இன்னிசை.

In the foregoing list, the words വകതിരിവ്, ഇടപാട്, അമ്പോ (അൻപേ), തെളിവ്, മുറുക്ക, കൈക്കൂലി, and കൈയേറ്റം cannot but strike one as purer Tamil and better than the words at present used by Tamilians for corresponding ideas.

Secondly—The names of places and houses in Kerala reveal their Tamilian origin:—

PLACES

Malayalam	നെടുമങ്ങാട്	=	Tamil நெடுவேன்காடு
,,	ചിറയിൻകീഴ്	=	,, சிறையின்கீழ்
,,	കുന്നത്തൂർ	=	,, குன்றத்தூர்
,,	ചെങ്ങന്നൂർ	=	,, செங்குன்றூர் (in பெரியபுராணம்)
,,	തിരുവല്ലാ	=	,, திருவல்லவாழ் (in திருவாய்மொழி)

,, ചങ്ങനാശ്ശേരി = ,, சங்கரனூர்சேரி

,, ഏറ്റുമാനൂർ = ,, எற்றுமான் ஊர் (எற்று + மான் + ஊர்)

,, മൂവാറ്റുപുഴ = ,, மூவாற்றுபுழை

,, കുന്നത്തുനാട് = ,, குன்றத்துநாடு

,, ആലുവായ് = ,, ஆலவாய்

,, പറവൂർ = ,, பறையூர் or பறஊர் (in சிலப்பதிகாரம்)

,, അഞ്ചിനാട് = ,, அஞ்சி (வந்த) நாடு, (place to which a Pandian King migrated in fear of the Mahomedan invaders. or the land of Anchi (as in அதிகமான்நெடு மான் அஞ்சி)

,, പൊരുന്ന = ,, பெருநெய்தல் (found in inscriptions)

HOUSES

Malayalam തോപ്പുവീട് = Tamil தோப்பு + வீடு

,, പുന്നയ്ക്കൽവീട് = ,, புன்னைக்கல் + வீடு

,, അങ്ങാടിത്തലവീട് = ,, அங்காடித்தலை + வீடு

,, ആലിൻ പറമ്പുവീട് = ,, ஆலின் + பரம்பு + வீடு

,, കുളത്തുങ്കരവീട് = ,, குளத்தின்கரை + வீடு

,, നാലുകാട്ടുവീട് = ,, நாலே + காட்டு + வீடு

,, പത്തിരത്തുവീട് = ,, பத்தியூரத்து + வீடு (House of a family that came from பத்தியூர்)

Thirdly—The words, expressions and language employed in ancient inscriptions are pure Tamil. To quote examples would be superfluous and unnecessary, as they are so well-known.

We shall deal with some of the points mentioned above in greater detail.

The fact that the more we go back in time, the more the language of Malayalam poetry approximates that of Tamil, until we come to a stage in which the poetical pieces are absolutely Tamil in their vocabulary would entitle us to presume the gradual evolution of the Malayalam language out of Tamil. It would be another argument for concluding that the language spoken by the Malayalis of ancient days was a dialect of Tamil and nothing but Tamil. Extracts of passages from early Malayalam literature and inscriptions would fill many pages. But it is enough for our purpose to quote some samples.

I cull the following from an Anthology entitled പഴയ പാട്ടുകൾ (Old Ballads and Songs) by Mr. C. P. Govinda Pillai, M. R. A. S., a well-known Malayalam scholar. The subjoined extract is from the story of the great hero Iravikutti Pillai, who bravely died in a battle with the Vadukappadai, the events being ascribed to the date 1635 A. D. by Rao Sahib S. Parameswara Iyer, M. A. B. L. (vide page 18 of his introduction to his "Specimens of Early Malayalam").

അന്തനേരം ഇരവിക്കുട്ടിപ്പിള്ളെള
ആലകാല വിഷംപോലെ കോപിത്താർ

ചന്തണ മരൈയ്യു ച്ചെവുക്കൻ പോക
ചട്ടതിയിലമ്മതാ കട്ടിനച്ചൊല്ലി
വെന്തെഴുന്ത ഉലയിൻ മെഴുകുപോൽ
വേററിൻേറാടിയേ തായാരു മുൻചെല്ലു
പാട്ടപെട്ടാലുമെന്നാൽ മകിയാളു
പൈങ്കൊടി ചൊല്ലുകേളാമൽ പോവേനോ

കാൽ പിടിത്തങ്കഴുളു മുറയിട്ടു
കണ്ണരശേ പടപോക വേണ്ടാമേ.

*   *   *

*   *   *

ചന്തമാക മൊഴിപേശി പ്പിള്ളയും
ചരതമാകവേ നീരാടപ്പിറപ്പെട്ടാർ
നീരാടി ക്കരതന്നിലങ്ങേറിയേ
നീലകണ്ഠം ചരണമിനച്ചൊല്ലി
പാരപ്പെട്ട മരത്തിലിരുന്തൊരു

പല്ലിവന്നു വലന്തോളിലേ വിഴ
തൊട്ടനല്ല കുറിഫലം പൊല്ലാതു
ശോകമോടേ തിരുമ്പി നീരാടിനാർ.

The following is from രാമകഥപ്പാട്ട്; (Page 87 of the same book), by Ayyi Pillai of Ouvaduthurai, Tiruvallam, near Trivandrum.

ഇന്ദ്രജിത്തും വിഭീഷണനും

നീയവർ വശമായ് കൂടി നിനക്കിറ പടക്കോളെല്ലാം
ആയവർ തമക്കും ചൊല്ലി അണ്ണനെച്ചതിക്കലാമോ
തുയവാ അയിമാനം കെട്ടതിൻപ്പയാ ചെറിയതാത
കാതലായിനമൈത്തെ ച്ചത്തക്കരുതെടാ തശവില്ലാമൽ.
തശവുമില്ലെടാ ഉനക്കു നല്ല അണ്ണനൈ ക്കൊല്ലിക്ക
നാശമായ് പുറന്ത പഞ്ചപാപിയേ,......
തശവു നക്ക് അന്നമൂട്ടി ചെറിയ നാളിലേ വളത്ത
തമയനക്കതവി നീയുമില്ലെടാ..........
പുല്ലിലും തറയിലും വയ്യാമലേ പുശത്തിൽ വയ്ത്തു
പുനിതമായ് വളത്ത അണ്ണനല്ലവോ
ശല്യമായ് തങ്കയുടേ മൂക്കരിന്തതുക്കമൊരു
ശങ്കയുമുണ്ടോ ഉനതു നെഞ്ചിനിൽ
ഇല്ലയിന്തപ്പാപിയാലേ ഒരു വഴിക്കും ചെൻറുകൂട
ഉണ്ടചോററരിശിയു മറന്തായോ
ചൊല്ലാമോ അരക്കരുടെ മായയും തൊഴിലുകളും
തോലിവരുത്തിക്കൊള്ളാതെ മന്നവാ
മന്നവാ അനത്ഥമൊക്കെയും ഒഴിച്ചു ലങ്കയിൽ
വാഴ്വതിന്നുനക്കു വിതി ഇല്ലെടാ
ഇല്ലെടാ പുറന്ത പോതിറന്തിട്ടും വല്ലോരു നാളും
എപ്പൊഴുതും വാഴലാമെൻറെണ്ണാതേ.

In a certain song, the following interesting passage describes the religious habits of the ancient Nairs, or, as the song calls them, Nagatthar or Naganmar, (Page 113 of the same book):—

അന്തിമന്തിര മോതും വേതിയോൻ
അതികാലേ കളിച്ചകം പുക്കു
അണിന്ത പൂവാരി അഭിഷേകം ചെയ്തി
ട്ടരളിപ്പൂമാല ചാത്തവേ
തിന്തിമിൻ തിമിന്നെന്നു മത്തളം
തിമിലച്ചെണ്ടയും കൈമ്മണി
തിമൃതത്തത്തക വിമൃത കൊമ്പൊട്
വീരാളൻ കുഴലൂതവേ
കൊടി കട തഴെ യെടുത്തു ശീവേലി
നടത്തവേ കോവിലകം പുക്കു
ഇരുകരങ്ങളും കുവിച്ചു നാഗന്മാർ
തെരുതെരെ ത്തുതി മുഴക്കവേ
തെള്ള തെളെ നെററിത്തടത്തിൽ നീറിട്ടു
നറുമലർ വാരിച്ചൊരിയവേ.

In another folk song, the Nairs or Nagatthar are stated to have answered in the following manner the threats of Arjuna, who came intoxicated with pride. The passage[1] mentions in detail some of the main virtues of the community:—

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1. This passage has also been quoted by the great Malayalam scholar, the late Kunjan Pillai Chattambi Swamy in his book entitled "പ്രാചീന മലയാളം".

(This and the two previous passages are specimens of Tamil-Malayalam mixture used in South Travancore, which is not a purely Malayalam region. Ezhuthachan a native of a pure Malayalam area wrote in a different language in the same century as that of Iravikkutti Pillai Song. Specimens of verse anterior to the 14th century have not yet been discovered in the pure Malayalam area.—T. K. J.)

SONG

എങ്കൾ കുഴാം നല്ലറവർ കുഴാമേ,
ചൊല്ലുവോം മെയ്ചൊൽ തഴപ്പു

എങ്കൾ കുഴാം നല്ലറവർ കുഴാമേ,
കള്ളരുന്തിട്ടവരു മില്ലോം

എങ്കൾ കുഴാം നല്ലറവർ കുഴാമേ,
കൊണ്ടപ്പാണ വകൈ യൊരുവകൈയും
ഉൺപതില്ലോം

എങ്കൾ കുഴാം നല്ലറവർ കുഴാമേ,
ഊൻ വകൈയുൾ കൊൾവതില്ലോം

എങ്കൾ കുഴാം നല്ലറവർ കുഴാമേ,
പിറമനവിയരൈത്തവറു വിരുപ്പു
റ നോക്കുവതില്ലോം

എങ്കൾ കുഴാം നല്ലറവർ കുഴാമേ,
ഈവതില്ലെന മൊഴിന്താൽ പിറകി
ങ്കുയിർ വാഴ്വതില്ലോം

English Translation

Our community is a virtuous one: We are in the habit of speaking the truth.

Our community is &c. We drink not intoxicating liquor.

Our community is &c. We eat not any kind of fish.

Our community is &c. We eat not any kind of flesh.

Our community is &c. We look not on others' wives with lustful eyes

Our community is &c. We would rather die than refuse to give what we are able to give.

It need hardly be stated that any community which can boast of the possession of the above-named qualities, as the Nairs referred to in the song are said to have done, can justly take its place in the front rank of the spiritual communities of the world.

I shall now make a few extracts from the specimens of Medieval Malayalam collected and published by Rao Sahib S. Parameswara Iyer, M. A., B. L., the esteemed Malayalam scholar and poet, known as Kavithilakan. They are mostly from the works of the poets known as നിരണം കവികൾ (Niranam Poets)

Extracts from the Baghavat Gita, written by Madhava Panikkar:—

1. അറിവൊടിവണ്ണം മരണദശായാം
യാതൊരുവൻ താൻ നിനവിലുറച്ചാൻ
കുറവിയലാതവ നെന്നൊടുക്കൂടും
ക്കുരുകിലതിനൊരു സംശയമുണ്ടോ?
അവ്വതിവരുന്നേരം യാതൊരുവൻ
യാതൊന്നിനെ നിനവുററാനതിലേ
കുറുകിയടഞ്ഞിട്ടു മെന്നതുപോലെ
ക്കുറാമിന്നും കേൾ കുരുവീരാ.

2. ഞാനേ യെല്ലാ ക്കർമ്മവു മുലകിൽ
നടത്തീട്ടുള്ള ഭേന്ദ്ര മകന്നേ
താനതിനാലേ യെന്നൊടു ചേരാ
ധരണീപാലകന്നേ യക്കർമ്മം
താനേ നൂറെറാരു തന്തുവിനാലേ
തളർവൊടു കെട്ടുപെടുംക്രിമിയൊടുനേർ
മാനുഷർ ഫലമാകാംക്ഷിച്ചല്ലോ
വൽവിനയാലിടർ പെടുവതുമെല്ലാം.

The following are from Kannassa Ramayanam (കണ്ണശ്ശരാമായണം):—

1. കണ്ടാനടനൊരു യോജന നീണ്ടതി
കാന്തികലന്ത്ര യോജന വീതിയി
ലുണ്ടാകിയ പൊൻ മതിലകമേവുന
രുത്തമമാകിയ രാവണഭവനം
തണ്ടാമരമലർ മീതിലിരുന്ന
ചതുർമ്മുഖനും വിസ്മയമാമതിനെ
ക്കണ്ടാലാദിത്യോദയ സമമായ്
ക്കാണാമതു രത്നപ്രഭയാലും.

2. ആലയമിതു ലങ്കാലങ്കാര
മതീവ മനോഹരമാകയിനാൽ ഞാൻ
നീലമലർക്കുഴലാം വൈദേഹിയെ
നീളനടന്നിവിടെയു മാരാസ്സൻ
കാലമിനിക്കളയാതെ പാതി
കഴിഞ്ഞിതു രാത്രിയുമെന്നു നിനന്തേ
ചാലവിരന്തു പുകന്തകപീന്ദ്രൻ
താനവിടം വിസ്മയമൊടു കണ്ടാൻ.

* * * * *

3. ഇവിടേ മാസമിരണ്ടു കഴിഞ്ഞാ
ലിനിയെന്നെ ക്കൊലചെയ്യുമി രാവണൻ
തവമേരുള്ള വിഭീഷണനാദികൾ
സഹസാ വൈദേഹിയെ വിടുകെന്നെ
അവരൊടു സാഹസമായ് നല്ലതുചൊ
ന്നതുകേട്ടവനതിനേതു മിണങ്ങാ
നിവയാദരവൊടു വന്നറിയിച്ചാ
ളെന്നോടിനിയ വിഭീഷണ സുതയാൾ.

From the verses quoted above, it will be seen how extremely thin was the partition that divided the bounds of Malayalam and Tamil in those days. It is thin enough in Madhava Panikkar's Baghavat Gita ; it is thinner in Kanassa Panikkar's Ramayanam; it is thinnest of all in Iravikutti Pillai's story of heroism and the other song. Lastly, the folksong of the Nairs (Nagattar) is Tamil pure and simple, Tamil in vocabulary, Tamil in syntax and Tamil in beauty of composition, worthy to take rank with any composition in Shentamil literature that has been produced on the other side of the Ghauts. Mr. Parameswara Iyer himself gives us the dates or approximate dates of most of the compositions in question thus :—Ramacharitham in the beginning of the 13th century, Madhava Panikkar's Baghavat Gita at the close of that century, and Kannassa Panikkar's Ramayanam in the beginning of the 14th century A. D, He says further that the language employed in Ramacharitham, Bhagavat Gita and Kannassa Ramayanam confirms this view. This view may, I think, be accepted without question. Mr. Parameswara Iyer says that the author of Ramacharitam wrote in the best language current in his country during his time, that Iravikutti Pillai's story reflects the language that was spoken in Southern Kerala in the 17th century, and that the actual date of the battle in which Iravikutti Pillai so heroically lost his life is 1635 A. D., which tallies with the period of Tirumalai Naickar of Madura. He proves by a citation that Ayyi Pillai Asan, the author of the celebrated Ramakatha, must have written that poem after studying Kannassa Ramayanam, that is, at the end of the 14th century A. D. These views appear to be quite sound, and I believe they have never been successfully challenged.

Were we in a position to place in chronological order specimens (2) of the various compositions (including stone inscriptions, copper plates and other authentic documents), that have appeared from time to time in the language of the country, starting from the time, say, of Raja Sekhara Devar of the Tiruvalla copper-plate (6th or 7th century A. D.,) we should be able to trace the various links or stages by which the Koduntamil of the early centuries of the Christian era gradually evolved into the modern Malayalam language. Even in the works of such a modern author as Kunjan Nambiar (18th century), the great preponderance of words of Tamil origin is very remarkable.

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2. In 19'5 Mr. T. K. Joseph published in his നസ്രാണികളുടെ നാലു ചെപ്പേടുകൾ, Chapter XI, representative specimens of lithic and copper-plate documents from the pure Malayalam area, ranging in date from 950 to 1725 A. D., along with a comparative study of their language.

Then there is the corroborative evidence of metre. On the subject of the metres employed by ancient Malayalam authors, Mr. Parameswara Iyer states as follows:—"ദ്രാവിഡഭാഷയിൽ സംസ്കൃതഭാഷയിൽ എന്നപോലെ അസംഖ്യം വൃത്തങ്ങൾ നടപ്പുണ്ട്. ആ വൃത്തങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും കവികൾ മലയാളം പാട്ടുകളിലും ഉപയോഗിച്ചുവന്നു."

In speaking of the metres employed in Ramacharitham, he says, with refreshing frankness, "എന്നാൽ ഇവയൊന്നും സംസ്കൃത വൃത്തങ്ങളല്ലെന്നും പ്രത്യുത ഇവയെ ദ്രാവിഡന്മാരിൽ നിന്നു ആര്യന്മാർ സ്വീകരിച്ചതാണെന്നും ഊഹിക്കുന്നതിൽ ആക്ഷേപമില്ല. ഇന്ദുവദനാദി വൃത്തങ്ങൾ (അതായത്, രാമചരിതത്തിൽ 3, 6, 15 മുതലായ പടലങ്ങളിലെ വൃത്തങ്ങൾ) കമ്പർ, വില്ലിപുത്തൂരാർ, അതിവീരരാമപാണ്ഡ്യൻ മുതലായ തമിഴ്കവികളും പ്രയോഗിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. ഇരുപത്തിനാലു വൃത്തം മുതലായ ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളിലെ വൃത്തങ്ങളൊക്കെയും ദ്രാവിഡ വൃത്തങ്ങളാണെന്നു കൂടി ഈ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ ഓർമ്മിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു".

Finally, it would seem that all our pains to seek evidence on the subject of the origin of the Malayalam language are superfluous in the face of the undisguised declaration of the great Kannassa Panikkar himself to the effect that he was translating part of Brahmandapuranam of Veda Vyasa into Tamil (and not Malayalam, which one would suppose, at this distance of time, was the language of his translation, were not the supposition repudiated by his own words) Here is his statement :—

"ശ്രീവേദവ്യാസ മഹർഷി അരുളിച്ചെയ്ത ബ്രഹ്മാണ്ഡപുരാണത്തിൽ മദ്ധ്യഭാഗത്തെ ഇതാ ഞാൻ തമിഴായിക്കൊണ്ടറിയിക്കിന്നേൻ" (Vide page V, in the preface to Mr. Parameswara Iyer's "Specimens of Medieval Malayalam" Vol II).

Now, why did Kannassa Panikkar call the language of his translation Tamil, and not Malayalam? Was it because the name Malayalam, (3) or its previous form, was not yet coined and applied to the language of the country which was slowly taking a new shape with the influx of Sanskrit words? Or was it because it was so well known that Malayalam grew out of Tamil that Panikkar preferred to call it by the name of the mother-tongue, rather than by that of the newly christened daughter? Or was it because the names Tamil and Malayalam were then treated as synonymous and were indifferently applied to the language of the country, and so were interchangeable terms? Whatever may be the truth, the statement coming from such a highly reputed author in Malayalam is *very significant* and speaks volumes to show that the essence, or the original ground work, of the Malayalam language was Tamil, which is the conclusion to which all the evidence I am bringing forward in this paper indisputably tends.

We shall now proceed to another very important point. We find that there were very many authors of Tamil books or poems in the ancient Chera country, whose names and works are still found treasured up in classical Tamil literature. I cull the following names of poets and poetesses out of a legion:—

(1) அம்மூவனார்—അമ്മൂവനാർ
(2) அல்லங்கீரனார்—അല്ലങ്കീരനാർ

3. The name Malayalam for the language is of very recent origin. Up to about the end of the 19th century the language of the Malayalam country, called Malai Nadu or Malai Mandalam, was known as Malayalma, i.e. as it were Malai-ism, like Americanism or Scotticism. Its script also was known by the same name, Malayalma, a corrupt form of the Tamil word Malaiyami.—T. K. J.

(3) சாத்தவனார்—സാത്തവനാർ

(4) இடைக்காடனார்—ഇടൈക്കാടനാർ

(5) ஒருசிறைப்பெயரியனார்—ഒരുശിറൈപ്പെയരിയനാർ

(6) கருவூர்க் கண்ணம் புல்லனார்—കരുവൂർ കണ്ണംപുല്ലനാർ

(7) கள்ளம் பாளனார்—കള്ളംപാളനാർ.

(8) கதப்பிள்ளைச் சாத்தனார்—കതപ്പിള്ളെച്ചാത്തനാർ.

(9) கருவூர்க் கோசனார்—കരുവൂർക്കോശനാർ.

(10) குண்டுகட்பாலியாதனார்—കുണ്ടുകട് പാലിയാതനാർ.

(11) குன்றியனார்—കുൻറിയനാർ.

(12) கொட்டம்பலவனார்—കൊട്ടംപലവനാർ.

(13) நம்பிகுட்டுவனார்—നമ്പികുട്ടുവനാർ

(14) பாலைபாடிய பெருங்கடுங்கோ—പാലൈപാടിയ പെരുങ്കടുങ്കോ

(15) பொய்கையார்—പൊയ്കയാർ

(16) மருதம் பாடிய இளங்கடுங்கோ—മരുതംപാടിയ ഇളങ്കടുങ്കോ

(17) குமட்டூர்க் கண்ணனார்—കുമട്ടൂർക്കണ്ണനാർ

(18) பாலைக்கௌதமனார்—പാലൈക്കൌതമനാർ

(19) காப்பியாற்றுக் காப்பியனார்—കാപ്പിയാററുക്കാപ്പിയനാർ

(20) நச்செள்ளையார்—നച്ചെള്ളൈയാർ

(21) அரிசில்கிழார்— അരിശിൽകിഴാർ

(22) பெருங்குன்றூர் கிழார்—പെരുങ്കുൻറൂർ കിഴാർ

(23) இளங்கோவடிகள்—ഇളങ്കോവടികൾ

(24) சேரமான் பெருமாணுயனார்—ചേരമാൻപെരുമാൾ നായനാർ

(25) குட்டுவன் கீரனார்—കുട്ടുവൻ കീരനാർ

(26) களமுற்றத்துத்துஞ்சிய சேரமான்—കളമുററത്തുത്തുഞ്ചിയ ചേരമാൻ

(27) வேணாட்டடிகள்—വേണാട്ടടികൾ

(28) குலசேகர ஆழ்வார்—കുലശേഖരആഴ്വാർ

(29) கருவூர்ப்பெருஞ்சதுக்கத்துப்பூதனார்—കരുവൂർപ്പെരുംചതുക്കത്തു ഭൂതനാർ

(30) ஒல்லையூர் தந்த பூதப்பாண்டியன்—ഒല്ലൈയൂർതന്ത ഭൂതപ്പാണ്ടിയൻ

It is stated that the poet Kapilar stayed at the palace of the Chera King செல்வக்கடுங் கோ வாழியாதன் (Selvakkadunko vazhiathan) as court poet.

Incidentally, it may be interesting to know that சேரமான்பெருமாணுயனர் (Cheraman Perumal Nayanar), three of whose Tamil poems are fortunately still extant, in his poem entitled ஆதியுலா (Adiyula), quotes from the immortal Kural twice :—

(1) "இல்லானை யெல்லாரும் எள்குவர் செல்வனை யெல்லாருஞ் செய்வர் சிறப்பென்னும்—சொல்லாலே"

(2) "கண்டு கேட்டுண்டுயிர்த்துற்றறியு மைம்புலனும் ஒண்டொடி கண்ணேயுளவென்னும்—பண்டையோர் கட்டுரையை மேம்படுத்தான்"

The latter is an incontrovertible testimony of the great antiquity of the Kural. The quotations show that the Kural was studied and held in great repute, not only by the Tamilians east of the Western Ghauts, but also by the Malayalis (I should now more correctly term themTamilians) of the ancient Chera country, it having been the common heritage of both. It may here be added that the oft-quoted Kural couplet,

"தெய்வந்தொழாஅள் கொழுநற் றொழுதெழுவாள் பெய்யெனப் பெய்யுமழை",

has been quoted by the Chera Prince இளங் கோவடிகள் (Ilankovadigal) in his immortal epic சிலப்பதிகாரம் (Chilappathikaram) of the 2nd century A. D.

If in those days Malayalam w re the spoken language of the country, there would have been authers of Malayalam books or poems, but this was not the case.

The last and the most incontestable argument to show that Tamil, and not Malayalam, was the language of the ancient Chera country is found in the passage in சிலப்பதிகாரம் (Chilappathikaram) I have alluded to under point III and which I quote below. It

is now a demonstrated fact that the poem was composed in the 2nd century A. D.(Vide the able disquisition on the subject by Mr- K. G Sesha Iyer, B. A., B L., M. R. A. S.)

"குமரி வேங்கடம் குணகுட கடலாம்
மண்டிணி மருங்கிற் றண்டமிழ் வரைப்பிற்
செந்தமிழ் கொடுந்தமிழ் எனிருபகுதியின்
ஐந்திணை மருங்கின் அறம் பொருளின்பம்"

Here the geographical limits of the land where the Tamil language was spoken are expressly and clearly defined. They are Cape Comorin in the South, Venkatagiri (Tirupati) hill in the North, and the sea (be it noted) *both on the East and the West*.

Nothing can be more specific. It is further expressly stated that there were two dialects of Tamil, செந்தமிழ் (Shentamil) and கொடுந்தமிழ் (Koduntamil). See also the following first four lines of காதை (Kathai 8 (வேனிற்காதை), in சிலப்பதிகாரம் (Chilappathikaram) which locates Vanji, the capital of the Chera country, in a Tamil speaking nad.

"நெடியோன் குன்றமுந் தொடியோள் பௌவமுந்
தமிழ் வரம்பறுத்த தண் புனனன்னாட்டு
மாடமதுரையும் பீடாருறந்தையும்
கலிகெழுவஞ்சியு மொலிபுனற் புகாருங்"

The foregoing statements are confirmed by சிகண்டியார் (Sikandiyar) thus:—

"வேங்கடங் குமரி தீம்புனற் பௌவமென்
றிந்நான் கெல்லை தமிழது வழக்கே",

This means that Tamil was current within the four limits of Venkatam, Comorin and the sea (meaning sea on the east and west).

It was the கொடுந்தமிழ் (Koduntamil) or dialectic variety of Tamil which was prevalent in the Chera country that with the gradual admixture of Sanskrit words, slowly developed into what is now known as the Malayalam language. From the verse previously quoted viz.,

"தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங்கற்கா வெண்பூழி
பன்றியருவா வதன் வடக்கு
நன்றாய்ச் சீதம் மலைநாடு புனனாடு
செந்தமிழ் சேர்த் தமிழ்ப் பன்னிரு நாடென்,"

it is clear that South Pandy (Tinnevelly District), Kuttanad, Kudam, Karka, Poozhi, Pandri, Aruva, Cheetham, Malanad and Punanad, which (with the exception of South Pandy) were all situated in the Chera country, were regarded as *nads* in which கொடுந்தமிழ் (Koduntamil) was spoken, and the other parts of South India, viz. Cholanad and Pandinad (extending from Madura northwards) were regarded as *nads* in which செந்தமிழ் (Shentamil) was current.

The references made in Tamil literature to the three kingdoms சேர சோழ பாண்டிய (Chera, Chola and Pandya) as Tamil kingdoms form an additional confirmation of the fact that Tamil (in the form of Koduntamil) was the original language spoken in the Chera country. See the following extract from புறநானூறு (Purananuru), poem 35, lines 3—5:—

"மண்டிணி கிடக்கைத் தண்டமிழ்க் கிழவர்
முரசு முழங்கு தானை மூவருள் ளு
மரசெனப் படுவது நினதே பெரும",

and this from அகநானூறு (Ahananuru), poem 31, lines, 14—15:—

"தமிழ்கெழு மூவர் காக்கு
மொழிபெயர் தேஎத்த பன்மலை யிறந்தே".

There is absolutely no evidence to show that the people of the Chera country spoke in those days any other language than Tamil. Applying, then, the dictum laid down by Dr. Oppert that "the original language of a people indicates its race and *vice versa*," we cannot escape the general inference that the people who originally spoke the Tamil language in the Chera country must have been Tamilians.

Now, let us see whether there is any independent and direct testimony pointing to this conclusion.

I. The celebrated Chera king and conqueror செங்குட்டுவன் (Shenkuttuvan) is spoken of as a *Tamil* king in his own brother's epic poem சிலப்பதிகாரம் (Chilappathikaram), vide Kathai, 27 (நீர்ப்படைக் காதை) :—

"வடபேரியயத்து வான்றரு சிறப்பிற்
கடவுட் பத்தினிக் கற்கால் கொண்டபின்

....

கனகவிசயர்தங் கதிர்முடி யேற்றிச்
செறிகழல் வேந்தன் றென்றமிழாற்ற
லறியாது மலைந்த வாரிய மன்னரைச்
செயிர்த்தொழில் முதியோள் செய்தொழில் பெருக

....

ஒரு பகலெல்லை யுயிர்த் தொகையுண்ட செங்குட்டுவன்".

This, in substance, means that Shenkuttuvan defeated the Aryan princes Kanaka and Vijaya who did not realise the prowess of the Tamil kings.

Vide also Kathai 26 (கால்கோட்காதை) of the same book, line 159:—

"காவா நாவிற் கனகனும் விசயனும்
விருந்தின் மன்னர் தம்மொடுங்கூடி
யருந்தமிழாற்ற லறிந்தில ராங்கென,"

II. In the Malayalam history of Cochin, written by Mr. Padmanabha Menon, it is stated, (and he quotes authority for it), that whenever the throne of the Cheraman Perumals fell vacant by the king leaving no heirs, the next king was elected from among the members of the Vellala community. This shows that there was then a community called Vellalas in the Chera country. And the fact that there is now in North Malabar a community called വെള്ളായ്മക്കാര് (Vellaymakar) (5) வேளாண்மைக்காரர் (Velanmaikkarar) or வேளாளர் (Velalar), goes to confirm that inference. For the original meaning of the word வேளாண்மை (Velanmai), I would refer to the following couplet of the Kural :—

தாளாண்மை யென்னுந் தகைமைக் கட்டங் கிற்றே
வேளாண்மை யென்னுஞ் செருக்கு".

"The pride of Velanmai rests upon the merit of industry." Ten virtues are usually ascribed to the Vellalas (vide Tamil Dictionary), and the pride referred to is the pride of the status and influence they create. The nobility implied in the word 'Aryan' and the nobility implied in the word வேளாண்மை (Velanmai) have both their origin in the use of the "plough" (Veḷ=earth, anmai=rule or control).

III. Then there is another confirmatory reference to show that Vellalas (or Velalars) existed in the Chera country, corresponding to the Velalars that now exist in the British Tamil nad. It may create quite a surprise to be told that two out of the sixty-three Nayanmars, canonised as Tamil saints, for whom idols are raised in most of the great Saiva temples of the Tamil nad were really Nairs of the Chera country, according to the testimony of சேக்கிழார் (Sekkizhar), the Pandian prime minister and author of the great Tamil religious epic poem known as Periapuranam. These two saints belonged to செங்குன்றூர் (Chengunnur) in Central Travancore. Their names are விறன் மிண்ட நாயனார் (Viranminda Nayanar,)

4. The Syrian Christians of Malabar used to say with considerable pride, "We are good *Vellālmakkar*" meaning people of high birth. *Vide* also Kerala Society Papers, Series 5, p. 471, col. 1—T. K. J.

and அரிவாட்டாயநாயனர் (Arivattaya Nayanar), the former stated by Sekkizhar to belong to the Vellala community, and the latter probably belonging to that same community. There is a certain compound in Chengunnur still known by the name of Nayanar Purayidam [5] (as there is one in Niranam known by the name of Kannassan Parambu). I have personally verified this fact when I visited Chengunnur a few years ago. The fact that there is a legend connecting the names of Viranminda Nayanar and Sundaramurti Nayanar, poet-saint and native of Tiruvarur near Tanjore, would point to the conclusion that Viranmindar lived about the 8th century A. D., that being about the age of Sundaramurti.

IV. A fourth confirmatory piece of evidence would be derived from the known fact that the old Chera kings intermarried with the Chola kings, and possibly with the Pandian kings too. The great king Shenkuttuvan's mother நற்சோணை (Narchonai) was the daughter of a Chola king.

Before concluding this part of the subject, I would refer to the origin of the words "Malayalam" and "Keralam" about which there seems to be some confusion of ideas on the part of those who have sought to trace their derivation. The word "Malayalam" clearly appears to be derived from the root-word "Malayal", meaning, in Tamil, an inhabitant of a mountainous or hilly country, the suffix "am" being a noun ending in the same way as "mai" in the word 'Malayayma', which is a corruption of the word "Malayanmai". Both are noun forms derived from the same root and connoting the same thing. Compare also Oorayma, Melkoyma and Karayma, which are corruptions of the Tamil forms Ooranmai, Melkonmai, and Karanmai. As for the word "Keralam", there is no need for tracing it to "nalikeram" or any other word, because there is overwhelming evidence to show that the word "சேரலன்" (Cheralan), of which it is a corruption, was in use in Tamil literature centuries ago to denote the Chera kings. See its use in the following ancient verse "திருமுகப்பாசுரம்" (Tirumukappasuram) to denote the Chera king பாணர்க்கு நிதிகொடுத்த சேரன் (Panarkku Nithikoduttha Cheran), who gave presents to a musician Panabhadran by name. The appellation of the Cheran is in itself an epitome of the event (the Cheran who gave money to Panar).

"மதிமலிபுரிசை மாடக்கூடற்
பதிமிசை நிலவும் பானிற வரிச்சை
யன்னம் பயில்பொழி லாலவாயின்
மன்னிய சிவனியா னென் மொழிதரு மாற்றம்
பருவக் கொண்மூப் படியெனப் பாவலர்க்
குரிமையி னுரிமையி னுதவிய குடைக்கீழ்ச்
செருமா வுகைக்குஞ் சேரலன் காண்க
பண்பால் யாழ்வல்ல பாணபத்திரன்
றன்போ லென்பா லன்பன் றன்பாற்
காண்பது கருதிப் போந்தனன்
மாண்பொருள் கொடுத்து வரவிடுப்பதுவே."

Vide also its use in the following extract from மணிமேகலை (Manimekalai), another great Tamil epic poem, produced by கூலவா

5. The first information of this fact was given to me by the late Kunjan Pillai Chattambiswamy. [நாயனர், நாயினர், நஞர், நாயர், நாயரி are the several changed forms of the words நாயகனர் and நாயகர் coined from Sanskrit நாயக:, meaning leader, master, lord. In Malayalam, the first three forms are applied to gods, kings, and respectable persons. நாயரி is applied to the Kings of Tekkumkur in Central Travancore, and நாயர் to individuals of certain 'Sudra' castes in British Malabar The feminine forms, are நாய்த்தியார், நாச்சியார், നേത്യാർ, നേശ്യാർ, and நாச்சி, which are used even now in Cochin and other parts. There is no connection between Nagas and the above words.—T.K.J.]

ணிகன் சாத்தனுர் (Koola Vanikan Chattanar), who collaborated with இளங்கோவடிகள் (Ilankovadigal), the author of சிலப்பதிகாரம் (Chilappathikaram), கச்சிமாநகர் புக்க காதை:—

"புரிந்த யானைப் பூங்கொடிப் பெயர்ப்படூஉத்
திருந்திய நன்னகர் சேர்ந்தது கேளாய்
குடக்கோச் சேரலன் குட்டுவர் பெருந்தகை
விடர்ச்சிலை பொறித்த வேந்தன்."

Mark also the use of the word சேரல் (Cheral), which is a contracted form of the word சேரலன் (Cheralan), in the appellations of the Chera kings, நார்முடிச்சேரல் (Narmudichcheral), பெருஞ் சேரலிரும்பொறை (Perumcheral irumporai), மாந்தரஞ்சேரலிரும் பொறை (Mantharamcheral irumporai) and பெருஞ் சேரலாதன் (Perumcheralathan).

The following two extracts will illustrate the use of the word சேரல் (Cheral) in ancient Tamil poetry:—

பதிற்றுப்பத்து (Pathitruppatthu), song 45, line 5:—

"விழுமியோர் துவன்றிய வகன்கணுட்பி
னெழுமுடி மார்பினெய்திய சேரல்"

அகநானூறு (Ahananuru), song 36, line 13:—

கொய்சுவற் புரவிக் கொடித்தேர்ச் செழிய
னாலங்கானத் தகன்றலை சிவப்பச்
சேரல் செம்பியன் சினங்கெழு திதியன்."

The word சேரலர் (Cheralar) is used in the following three verses to denote the people of the Chera country:—

அகநானூறு (Ahananuru), song, 149, line 6:—

அரிதுசெய் விழுப்பொரு ளெளிதினிற் பெறினும்
வாரேன் வாழியெ னெஞ்செ சேரலர்
சுள்ளியம் பேரியாற்று வெண்ணுரை கலங்க
யவனர் தந்த வினைமா ணன்கலம்
பொன்னொடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும்
வளங்கெழு முசிறி யார்ப்பெழ."

Do. Do. song 209:—

"முள்ளூர் மன்னன் கழறொடிக்காரி
செல்லா நல்லிசை நிறுத்த வல்வில்
லோரிக் கொன்ற சேரலர்க் கீத்த."

பதிற்றுப்பத்து (Pathitruppatthu), poem, 38, lines 7—8:—

செவ்வுளை கலிமா வீகை வான்கழற்
செயலமை கண்ணிச் சேரலர் வேந்தே."

In the following verse from திவாகரம் (Thivakaram) which recounts the various names of the Chera kings, the word கேரளன் (Keralan) itself occurs Thus the last remaining link connecting the various stages of transformation of the word "Cheralan" into the modern word "Keralam" is supplied by this verse:—

"பூழியன் உதியன் கொங்கன் பொறையன்
வானவன் குட்டுவன் வானவரம்பன்
வில்லவன் குடநாடன் வஞ்சி வேந்தன்
கொல்லி சிலம்பன் கோதை கேரளன்
போந்தின் கண்ணிக்கோன் பொருநைத் துறைவன்
சேரமான் மலையமான் கோச் சேரன்பேரே".

This opportunity may be taken to elucidate, though it does not directly bear upon the subject, the connection between the words "Tamil" and "Dravida", as much misunderstanding surrounds the subject. It is generally supposed that "Dravida" is a distinct word, standing for a group of languages of which Tamil is but one. It is forgotten or ignored that the word "Dravida" is merely the Sanskritic corruption of the word "Tamil", which in course of time had passed through certain intermediate stages thus:— Tamizh, Damila, Dramila, Dramida, Dravida, for the use of all of which forms there are evidences in Pali and Sanskrit literature. The word "Tamil" in the sense of "sweet" has been used in ancient Tamil literature, and is not therefore of Sanskrit origin, as some imagine. Consequently, it

would be a mistake to take the word "Dravidian", whenever found used in oriental works, as connoting anything other than the whole group of races and languages which had a Tamilian origin.

Having hitherto dwelt upon evidences that go to prove that the language spoken by the ancient inhabitants of Kerala was Tamil, and the evidences, indirect and direct, that point to the conclusion that, racially, the people who spoke that language were none other than Tamilians, we have now to treat of one or two important points which seem to differentiate the people from the Tamilians on the other side of the Ghauts. One such point is the Marumakkathayam system of inheritance.

On this subject, I may venture to put forward what, in my humble opinion, seems, in the absence of data for direct proof, a reasonable hypothesis regarding the origin of this system of inheritance, which after all is not peculiar to this country alone. The hypothesis to me carries the greatest probability with it. I do not, of course, wish to dogmatise in this matter. A hypothesis is only a supposition, supported as far as may be, by analogy &c. which might, after all, turn out true and which furnishes the most satisfactory explanation, *for the time being*, that is, until it can be rebutted by evidence to the contrary, or supplanted by a better explanation, of a fact, or a state of things, or in scientific language, a group of phenomena. Various theories have been already advanced. I regard this peculiar system to have been the natural outcome in ancient days of the peculiar physical features of the country, chiefly, the chain of the Western Ghauts which cut it off from easy communication with its neighbours. This system, it will be observed, was not in vogue in regard to the succession of ancient kings, vide the ancient Tamil classics. Being thus cooped up in an almost secluded country, the inhabitants, that is, the ancient Tamilians, could seldom get any extraneous help in times of war and were forced to defend their country against foreign invaders or internecine enemies, by relying upon their own military resources.[6] Hence the army, in such emergencies, would have been made up by conscription, that is, each family would have had to contribute one male member to the army for the defence of the country, Naturally, there must have been heavy losses in wars and the question must necessarily have arisen as to how to support the widowed wives and children of the dead warriors. The Nairs are known to have been a fighting people, and it is conceivable how, under such circumstances, pressed by dire necessity, the widowed wives would have been driven to marry again in order to support their children against starvation. By way of analogy, it may be stated that even among the Maravas, the fighting section of the Tamilians in Tamilnad, widow remarriage is allowed, a custom dictated by a similar necessity. Of course, the comparison between Nairs and Maravas will not hold good in other particulars. The same state of things would, I believe, have held good with similarly situated peoples all

6. Edward Westermarck, an authority on Sociology, in his "Short History of Marriage", ascribes the custom to the military organisation of the Nairs. But, with due respect to him, I must say that I do not agree with his assumption of a Polyandrous custom among the Nairs, which he bases on the inaccurate observations of some early travellers. I believe no nation or community, within historic times, which has the smallest title to respectability, would have voluntarily adopted the system of polyandry as a rule. But circumstances and abject poverty may drive the slums of any place to that extremity.

over the world, as for instance, the Nepalese. This change necessarily implied some laxity in the marriage tie, looked at from the absolute standpoint. Hence marriages came to be termed Sambandhams. Among the ordinary Tamilians on the other side of the Ghauts, such a dire necessity did not arise, as the outlook there was broader, and a separate section of the race could be allotted for the functions connected with war. For this reason, widow-remarriage was never a necessity in the case of sacerdotal or quasi-sacerdotal classes like the Brahmins and Saiva Vellalas, who seldom or never had occasion to go to war. Had such an extreme necessity arisen, we can fancy how they would have been similarly driven to adopt such a custom as widow-remarriage. We can also imagine now how as a natural sequel to the custom of widow-remarriage, the new claims on the widow's affections and interests, and the birth of new children, would have involved new adjustments and modes in the possession and devolution of property. It is conceivable again how the chief male member of the family or Tarwad of the deceased warrior would naturally have been the eldest of the brothers of the widowed lady, and how he would have been the best person to step in to protect the interests and manage the domestic concerns of the main family. He became the *karanavan* of the house. Among the Maravas, the fighting people already referred to, it is the maternal uncle that even now gives the hand of his niece in marriage to the bridegroom whereas among the Vellalas, Brahmins &c, this rite is performed by the father. Those who can stretch their sympathetic imagination a little further can well realise how, if the conditions were such that it would have been impossible to find husbands for all the widowed ladies in their own community, intermarriage with Nambudris or members of communities which were considered higher than their own was permitted in the Nair community. In other parts of India where intermarriages between castes were not allowed, a similar necessity probably led to polygamy, which custom prevails among the Maravas. It is a sign of self-respect that the Nairs never permitted any intermarriage with communities which were lower than their own in the social scale. All these conditions were the remote or indirect results of their self-dependence under conditions of war, and these again were the indirect results of their territorial isolation in ancient times. Racially, however, it is obvious that everything goes to prove that, with the exception of a microscopic few that would have migrated from North India, Syria or elsewhere and mixed with the people, the great body of the people of Kerala were none other than Tamilians, and to me it seems that there is no possibility of escaping this conclusion.

One other noteworthy point of difference between the Nairs and the Tamilians on the other side of the Ghauts, may be mentioned here, that is Naga worship. The names Naganmar and Nagatthar [7] applied to them in ancient Malayalam literature and folk songs evidently point to the fact that they were once Naga (serpent) worshippers. Nay, such worship is even now in vogue in

7. These two names have not yet been found in any inscription as applied to a Kerala caste or tribe. Neither do they occur in any known document other than the one quoted in the paper, and the Sanskrit work Malayadri Mahatmyam. Nayakanmar (see foot note 5 *ante*) may become Naykanmar or Naykkanmar (Naiks). Nayakathar (Nakathar) may be derived from nayakam, leadership. —T. K. J.

some country parts in Kerala, and this worship again must have been due to the physical conditions of the country which produce kavoos (or groves, the abode of serpents) in abundance. All nations, at some period of their career, have been nature-worshippers, and there is nothing strange in the fact that the existence of groves, with countless serpents should have predisposed the ancient Nairs to this kind of worship.

It must be admitted that there are some minor points in which the Malayalis, particularly the Nairs show distinct superiority over the Tamilians, atleast of the adjoining district of Tinnevelly. Their retention of pure Tamilian words and expressions (illustrated in an earlier part of this article) for ideas for which the Tamilians at present use Hindustani and other foreign words and expressions, and their correct pronunciation of the letters ழ and ற்ற, peculiar to Shentamil, are obvious points of superiority. The Nairs show greater courtesy to women in general. They never address an elderly lady as നീ, but only as നിങ്ങൾ (நீங்கள்),— a custom which the Tamilians would do well to copy. The northern Nairs use the singular പോ and വാ only towards menials and similar individuals; towards all others they adopt the more courteous പോവുക and വരിക (corresponding to the Tamil போக and வருக). They allow greater freedom of movement to women,— to whatever cause this may be due,—and this has paved the way for their present better secular education.

In promulgating these views, I may state here that I not only do not shrink from criticism, but I positively invite such honest criticism as is possible, for I am actuated by no other motive than that of discovering the truth, and that I shall frankly and gladly correct myself whenever I am proved to be in the wrong. On the other hand, I have to state that, according to Asquith, it is the sign of a judicial frame of mind "to welcome new truths when they have proved their title, despite the havoc they may make to old and cherished beliefs."

The Mudaliar Manuscripts.*

(By S. Desivinayagam Pillai)

Nanchinad comprising the two Taluks of Thovala and Agasteeswaram in modern Travancore is pre-eminently an agricultural country. It is walled off on three sides by high mountains and the fourth, the southern side, is washed by the Indian Ocean. The fertile land enclosed within is one vast expanse of verdant paddy fields studded with sweet smiling villages The gardens in and around the inhabited quarters, and the topes and groves that fringe the cultivated lands present a delightful picture for the eyes to feast on. The magnificent temples found in the midst of villages, reminding us of the palmy days of the great Chola, Pandya and Vijayanagara empires embellish the natural beauty of the country beyond measure. Scarcity of water is never felt here. The river Pazhayar feeds the land with its numerous channels. Ponds and tanks are met with everywhere. The whole face of the ground is clothed with luxuriant verdure, and the rising sun paints it with a thousand brushes every morning. The salt pans of Thamarakkulam in themselves form a very rich ornament for the country. In short, Nanchinad contains its own hills, its own forests, its own paddy-lands, and its own sea-board—the kurinji, the mullai, the marutham and the neythal of the Tamil grammarians. No wonder it is therefore that this land of Arcadian charm attracted many an invader from outside, and remained a bone of contention between the Kings of Pandya and those of Chera for a long time.

The origin of the name Nanchinad is lost in obscurity. Some people think that the land is called after Nanchikkuravan, the greatest of the Kurava kings said to have ruled over it in former days. This view is challenged by others who hold that Nanchikkuravan owed his name to the country, and not the country to his. According to these critics Nanchinad (நன்செய்+நாடு, or நாஞ்சில்+நாடு) means the land of paddy-fields, or the country of the ploughshare. A third class of writers refute all the etymologies given and try to connect the name with Nanchil (நாஞ்சில்) meaning a bastion or fort. [1] They, in support of this view, point to the natural barriers fortifying the land on all sides. Again, there are also scholars who opine that Nanchikkuravan is only an eponymous character like Romulus of Rome, and that no king of that name ruled over Nanchinad at any time.

The details of this word need not detain us any longer. We may turn our attention to the ancient capital of Nanchinad and to the historic family of the Periyaveettu Mudaliar, that contiunes to live there even to this day.

Azhakiapandiapuram is a typical village of Nanchinad. It is only 7 miles north of Nagercoil. To the east or rather south-east of it is situate, within calling distance, the small hamlet of Kurathiara, [2] very much fallen from its pristine glory. This is said to have been the seat of the Kurava kings when Nanchinad was governed by them in the remote past. Here it was that the members of their family,—men, women and children—were crused to death by the

* A paper read before the Kerala Society on 21-11-1930

sudden collapse of the stone mandapam cunningly erected at the instance of the Mudaliar minister of A.hakiyapandiapuram. The saying 'பொறியைத் தடுக்கடா புத்திகெட்ட ஆசாரி' which alludes to the above occurrence is still current in these parts. The name Kuravan-thattu-vilai (குறவன் தட்டு விளை) by which a plot of ground is even now known among the villagers is no doubt a significant one and a true tell-tale of the past history of the locality. Relying on the statement found in the Travancore State Manual that 'the remnants of the granite structure are extant to this day at the village of Kurathiara', I visited the place a few days ago and made a thorough search for them in and around that place. But my untrained eyes could find there none more valuable or important than the few things noted below.

1. A stone statue of Vishnu is found set up in a corner of the above garden called குறவன் தட்டுவிளை.

2. There is a Vatteluttu inscription engraved on a boulder right in front of the said Vishnu image. It has not been deciphered as yet. What valuable information is locked up in it, future researches alone can tell us. I wish it could reveal to the public the open sesame to the miraculous fountain which is said to have transmuted iron into gold during the days of our Kurava chieftains.

3. The only other relic discovered there is the small rock-cut shrine excavated on the southern slope of a neighbouring hill. It measures 5 ft. in length and about 4 in breadth. The chamber houses an image cut in high relief on the rock itself. This appears to be, limb for limb, an exact replica of the granite statue of Vishnu standing in the குறவன்தட்டுவிளை compound referred to already. But to my great surprise, I hear that the people around are worshipping it as that of Auvaiyar (ஔவையார்), the deified poetess of the Sangham age. The two brass breast-caps and a few other female ornaments found adorning the image at the time of my visit clearly show that it has undergone a complete metamorphosis at the hands of its pious worshippers in recent times.

In documents of even very recent dates Azhakiapandiapuram is often found referred to as அதிகனூரான அழகியபாண்டியபுரம், Adiganur alias Azhakiapandiapuram. From this it may not be unreasonable to infer that the ancient name of the village was Adiganur and that it was afterwards transformed into Azhakiapandiapuram by some Sundara (Alagia) Pandya or other to commemorate his conquest of Nanchinad or South Travancore. The Adigan, after whom the village was called may for the present be identified with the great chieftain of that name whose munificent gifts have been extolled by many a bard of the Sangham period. The king who is responsible for the present name Azhakiapandiapuram must be a Sundara Pandya who lived and ruled over his country before the middle of the 3rd century M. E., since we know that the earliest record in which the above name Azhakiapandiapuram occurs is found dated in the Kollam year 252. The only Sundara Pandya whose dates would fit in with this circumstance is the 'Sundara Pandya of endless fame' who opposed the Chola King Rajadhiraja I in or about the year 1050 A. D.

Some cadjan records of the 6th & 7th centuries M. E. give Azhakiapandiapuram the additional alias of Udayamarthanda—Chathurvedi—Mangalam (உதயமார்த்தாண்டச் சதுர்வேதிமங்கலம்). This clearly shows that by

that time the village was brought under the kings of Travancore. That Udayamarthanda Varma belongs to the Travancore dynasty needs no proof. The name itself would warrant this inference.

All these are enough, I believe, to prove the antiquity of Azhakiapandiapuram and its importance in the early history of Nanchinad.

It is in this ancient village that we find even now the family of the Periaveettu Mudaliars whose private archives have supplied many valuable records for building up the early history of Travancore.

What does the term Mudaliar (முதலியார்) signify? Who are these people? Are they the original inhabitants of Nanchinad? If not, where did they come from? Such questions are easily asked but not answered.

Mudali (முதலி) and Mudaliar (முதலியார்) have the same meaning, and are derived from the same root as mudanmai (முதன்மை). The ar (ஆர்) in Mudaliar (முதலியார்) is only the honorific plural suffix as in தகப்பனார். முதலியார் when expanded becomes முதன்மை உடையவர். It may be interpreted as the person who is first in rank or dignity, hence, the chief man in a community or village. In this connection I am greatly tempted to quote the following extract from Mr. Padmanabha Menon's Kerala History, Part II, p. 521: 'On the settlement of the Jews in Jews' Town at Mattancheri the Raja of Cochin appears to have appointed a chieftain among them with the title of 'Mudaliar' apparently a revival of the privilege granted to Joseph Rabban by Bhaskara Ravi Varma. The Mudaliar was given a rod of office with silver knobs. It is said that the Mudaliars exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction over the members of this community in the days of their glory, the Raja reserving to himself the right of trying great & capital causes. They were also given power to impose and remit fines.'

I am unable to give satisfactory answers to the next two questions. Authentic history does not help us in the least. Contemporary literature is silent over the matter. Documents private or public relating to the subject are seldom met with. In these circumstances we cannot but turn to the field of tradition and try to glean the few grains of truth that may be found scattered there.

It is said that the early ancestors of the Mudaliars were natives of (காவிரிப்பூம் பட்டினம்) Kaviripoompattinam or Pugar the famous capital of the Chola Emperor Karikala. For some reason, now frogotten, they had to leave the city for good and seek protection under a Pandya king who ruled his country with Kalakkad [3] as his seat of government. The king, they say, was very kind and generous towards these foreign settlers, and appreciating their natural intelligence, business capacity, trustworthiness and other good qualities, appointed them to high and responsible offices in the State. The temple of Nagarathu Pillaiar (நகரத்துப் பிள்ளையார்) at Kalakkad is said to be an eloquent reminder of the Mudaliar colony that existed there in former days.

Some decades after, a member of the said royal house whose capital was Valliyur and whose kingdom extended as far as the southern districts of Travancore, was pleased to make a gift of the whole tract of Nanchinad to a Kurava who performed a very sucessful operation on the ear-lobes of the princess, his only daughter. The fortunate Kurava took possession of the country but found himself quite unable to govern it. So he applied to his royal donor and obtained a loan of the services of these Mudaliars

whose loyalty, administrative capacity and devotion to duty were beyond question. It is this their second exodus that brought them finally to Azhakiapandiapuram, their present residence. The proposal of the last Kurava chieftain to enter into a marriage alliance with the Mudaliar family and its tragic end are too well-known to be repeated here. (See Travancore State Manual).

After the overthrow of the Kurava dynasty the country was declared the commonwealth of the people and the Periaveettu Mudaliar of Azhakiapandiapuram became its Oliver Cromwell.

Now arises the question how and when did Nanchinad come under the sway of the Travancore Kings? The author of the State Manual says that 'while the Government of commonwealth was being conducted by the people themselves, negotiations between the ruler of Travancore and the Nanchinadians were opened, which were concluded with the result that the Nanchinadians agreed to place themselves under the Travancore Government with a certain share in the administrative functions providing for their own requirements and convenience ! The date of this event is not known, nor is it easy to determine it with any degree of accuracy in the present state of knowledge about that period. Mr. Shunkunny Menon's statement that 'Nanjakuravan and his confederacy were driven away by the King of Travancore in the Kollam year 292 M. E. (1117 A. D.)' cannot stand. We have evidence to prove that that was the year in which the Travancore King defeated Rajasimha (a Pandia ruler) and conquered the country of Kottar together with the whole of Nanchinad'. How can these two facts be reconciled unless we are prepared to identify Nanjikuravan with the Pandia King Rajasimha?

There exist several records to show that the titles of Vanigaraman, Cherakon, and Vairavanan [4] (வணிகராமன், சேரகோன், வைராவணன்) were conferred on the most influential members of the Mudaliar community in recognition of the signal services rendered by them in bringing about an arrangement between the people of Nanchinad and the king of Travancore, whereby the former became the subjects and the latter their trusted sovereign. The richest and the cleverest of the above triumvirate was the Vanikaraman Mudaliar, popularly known as the Periaveettu Mudaliar of Azhakiapandiapuram. The Vairavanan family alone has become extinct now; the other two are represented by their lineal descendants at Alur (ஆளூர்), Azhakiapandiapuram and other places in South Travancore.

As a mark of special favour these title-holders were allowed the privilege of riding on palanquins in those days. A neettu document dated in the year 655 M. E. (A. D. 1479) conveys as many as 20 Kottas of paddy-fieds to the Vairavanan family for maintaining a palanquin establishment in their house. The Vanigaraman Mudaliar even now enjoys the honour of receiving 500 fanams, a piece of silk, and a kavani (fine cotton cloth) from the Travancore king whenever a marriage is celebrated in his family. The death of the senior member is even now reported to the palace, and a sum of 300 fanams, a piece of silk, and cotton cloth are sent to his next heir as a mark of respect.

Ninavu and Neettu documents from the palace were despatched to the Mudaliar direct, and not through any intermediary officials. Information regarding births, deaths and even illness of any member of the royal family was conveyed to him by special neettus. There are records to prove

that the Vanigaraman Mudaliar as representing the people of Nanchinad was consulted by the king on many important State affairs. It was this Mudaliar assisted by a number of Ampalakkars (officials) that collected the revenue from the ryots of Nanchinad and paid the same into the royal treasury for a long time in the past. The Nattukkoottams or national assemblies were invariably presided over by the senior member of the Vanigaraman family. These meetings were announced by (முரசு) tom-toms and (கொம்பு) bugles throughout the country. Political questions of great importance were discussed in these by the representatives of the people Some of the resolutions already published in the Travancore State Manual and in the Travancore Arch. Series bear ample testimony to the strong common sense, the practial wisdom, and thorough independence that characterise the members and especially the Mudaliar chairman who guided the proceedings of the assembly.

The rights and privileges of the people were very zealously guarded by the Nanchinadians. Led by Vanikaraman Mudaliar they were ready to do anything—to defy the authority of the Government, to revolt and secede to a place on the frontiers of Travancore or outside it when circumstances demanded such a step being taken for getting their grievances redressed by the sovereign. It was perhaps in these meetings of the early Nanchinadians that the political weapon of non-co-operation was forged for the first time in the annals of our country.

The following extract from the Travancore State Manual strongly supports the statements made above. 'The people (the Nanchinadians) also more than once abandoned their houses & took to the neighbouring hills refusing to return to their villages unless the king promised redress to their grievances. Even service under the king was declared treason against the commonwealth of Nanchinad. To this day the people of Nanchinad are as a class distinguished from the other Travancoreans by a bold address and plain speaking to the authorities—an instinct inherited from long ages of suffering and resistance to mis-government. One of the most favoured forms of expressing grievances adopted by the people of the southern taluks (Nanchinad) to the sovereign is to say "kindly allow us to go outside the Tovala frontier". As a matter of fact, they did go several times in former ages outside the Travancore frontier when oppression by the King's officials or depredations by foreign armies became intolerable, but every time they went, they were called back to their homes by the ancient kings who always cajoled them with sweet promises of sympathy and better protection.' (Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, p. 324).

The royal proclamation of 993 M. E. prohibited the holding of all political meetings in Nanchinad. It completely stripped the Mudaliar of all his powers. His tom-toms and bugles were put to silence and his position was brought down to the level of an ordinary subject of the king of Travancore.

The ola documents found in the private archives of our Periaveettu Mudaliar have been very carefully preserved in rattan baskets speially made for the purpose. Their number may exceed 600. Some of them have already begun to show signs of decay. If steps are not taken betimes to have them transcribed they are sure to be lost to the world for ever The earliest of the records included in this collection is one dated in the

year 448 M. E. published in the Kerala Society Papers, Vol. I, Series 6. There are only a few documents belonging to the 6th century M. E. The 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th are numerously represented. The characters employed in them are either Tamil or Malayamai. In some instances the body of the document is found written in malayamai and the names of the parties only, with their signatures, in Tamil. A close examination of the Mudaliar records connot but convince one that both the characters Tamil and Malayamai existed side by side in South Travancore for a long time.

According to the subjects dealt with the documents may roughly be classified as follows:—

1. Private documents such as lease deeds, debt-bonds, etc.
2. Slave-sale deeds.
3. Resolutions passed by the people of Nanchinad at their meetings.
4. Ninavus and Neettus (royal writs).
5. Sadhanams or letters receivd from high officials of the State.
6. Petitions.
7. Dharmasasanams.
8. Court decisions.

NOTES.

1. Page19, col. 2.

(a) "நாஞ்சில்வள்ளுவன்." (புறநானூறு stanzas 137—140 and 380.)

(b) "நாஞ்சில் ஊற்க்கு சமைந்த ஊரோம்"
"நாஞ்சில் வேளார்"
"நாஞ்சில் வயல்"

(Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, No. 546).

2. Page 19, col. 2.

குறத்தியறை: may this be a tradition-monger's perversion of குறத்தியறை— the cell or chamber, or tomb of a Jaina or Buddhist female ascetic?

3. Page 21, col. 2 Kalakkad Peria Mudaliar.

An inscription from Kalakkadu records that Peria Mudaliar and Tilarappa Mudaliar granted some lands for the worship of the God Jamadagniswara in S. 961, Visvavasu. (Rangacharya Vol. III, p. 1470).

4. Page 22, col. 2.

(சேரகோன், வயிராவணன், வணிகராமன்)—

These titles are met with in some of the Pudukkottai inscriptions also.

(a) "இதில் சேரகோனர் ட உம்." Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, No. 835.

(b) "நகரத்து......... வயிராவணர்." Do. No 487.

(c) 'உதையப் பெருமாளான வணிகராமர்' Do. No. 835.

— S. D. P.

DOCUMENT 1

Royal Neettu of 13—1—655 M. E. (1479 A. D.) granting to the Vairavanan family 20 *kottas* of paddy field and the high lands on either side of it for the maintenance of a palanquin allowed to the family. Script, Tamil.— T. K. J.

1. வானவன் வயிராவணன் குடும்பத்தில் எளரைக் கரைநாட்டில் முந்தின முன்பு முறைத்தானமானம் சகல வரிசைகளோடும் கூடி

2. நடந்து கொள்ளுமாறும் ஆதி சந்திர தாரமே சந்ததிப் பிரவேசமே நடந்து கொள்ளுமாறும் தண்டிகை உப்பளத்திறு அதிகனேரி

3. குளத்தின்கீழ் இருபது கோட்ட விரப்பாடும் இருகர வாரமும் அடங்கிக் கையாண்டு

4. கொள்ளுமாறும்

5. இதின்வண்ணம் திருவுள்ளத்தின்படி திருவுள்ளமாகிய நீட்டு

6. எழுதிய கூாடுயிடு ளு ஆவணி மீ டீங வ திருவுள்ளமருளிய திருமன நீட்டு

DOCUMENT 2

Royal Neettu dated 6—10—768 (1593 A. D., in the reign of Ravi Varma, 767 to 784 M. E.) embodying certain rules regarding collection of some taxes, levying fines for offences, performance of ooliyam (free service), extortion by the village officers, and sale of surplus water. Script, Tamil,—T. K. J.

1. நாஞ்சிநாடு மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடி வரை தளிதங்கேதம் உள்பட்ட தேசத்தில் பெரும்பற்று பரிச்சு நிய்க்கின்ற

2. துரக்காறர் கொள்ளும் கோமுறைப் பாடு அஞ்சாலி குத்தகையும் காணிக்கையும் ஊரிலொருத்தன் பிழைச்சால் நாலு

3. தலைவன்மாரைக் கூட்டித் துரக்காறர் முன்பாக பிழைக் கொத்தவண்ணம் குற்ற தெண்டம் தீர்ப்பிச்சு கொள்ளுமாறும்

4. ஆள்த்தாவு அன்னுடகனிட்ட கொத்தில் இருநாழி நெல்லு கூட்டிக் கொள்ளுமாறும் நம்மடெ இங்ஙு நின்று கற்ப்பிக்கின்ற

5 ஊழியமாயொள்ளது எற்ப்பெட்ப்பட்டதும் செய்து போருமாறும் அந்தந்த ஊரில் அஞ்சாலியும் குத்தகையும் இறுத்து

6 போரின்றவனும் பாட்ட.........போரின்றவனும் ஊருக் கொத்த வண்ணம் ஊழியம் செய்து போருமாறும் இதுகூடாதே தேசம்பரிசு நிய்க்கின்ற துரக்காறர்

7. பணயம் எடுக்கருதென்றும எய்ச்சோறு காட்டருதென்றும் அலைவரு உழுவிக்கருதென்றும் பெரும்பேறு தண்டருதென்றும் தன்புரவினு போக்கிச் சேழிச்ச தண்ணீர் பிறப்பற்றினு விக்கின்றது

8. கூடாதே தன்புரவினு தண்ணீர் விக்கருதென்றும் நமக்கு வைச்சு தரின்ற இலக்கம் கூடாதெ மாவில் இலக்கம் வைக்கருதென்றும் தங்கேதப்பற்றில் பணயம் எடுக்கருதென்றும் தரப்படி மேல்வாரம் பற்றிக்

9. கொள்ளின்றது கூடாதே மாவில் நெல்லாகிலும் பணமாகிலும் வைக்கருதென்றும் ஊ ரிலொருத்தன் பிழைச்சால் ஊரில்த்தலவன்மாரையும் கூட்டி அவிடை நிய்க்கின்ற துரக்காறர் முன்பாக பிழைக்கு

10. ஒத்தவண்ணம் குற்றதெண்டம் தீர்ப்பிச்சு கொள்ளின்றது கூடாதெ தனித்தெண்டம் கொள்ளருதென்றும் ஆக இவ்வகைப்படி எழுநூற்று அறுபத்தெட்டாமாண்டு வைகாசிமாதம் ஆறுந்தெய்தி கற்ப்பித்த

11. மைக்கு இச்செய்தி சொல்லி நாஞ்சிநாடு வடவகைத் தென்மீதி நாடமைந்த பேர்க்கு நீட்டு எழுதிவிடென்று திருவுள்ளமாயது நீட்டு.

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1. துரக்காறன்—Collector of revenues in respect of temple properties — (Tamil Lexicon)

துரம்=The department for collecting revenues in respect of temple properties.—(Tamil Lexicon).

The word துரம் is of course derived from the Sanskrit dhura, meaning burden, charge, trust, responsibility.

The word occurs in some other South Indian records also.

விசுவநாதபட்டன் சாபோராயிவனுக்
கு ஞாதியுமில்லாமல் துரமும் முட்டு
வருகையில்— (S I I. Vol V, No. 761.)

உட்கோயில் புறக்கோயிலுட்பட
அசற்பங்துக்கு ஒத்தமரியாதி துரமும்
செய்து— (S. I I. V, No. 762.)

துரக்குறைகளும் தீர்ந்து— Ibid.

நம்வாசத் துரக்காறர்க்கு— (S. I. I, V, No. 766)

The collector of revenues in respect of the 'Sri Pandaravakai' or properties belonging to the Padmanabhaswami's pagoda at Trivandrum, is called தூரக்காரன் in Nanchinad. His office is known as தூரம் even now. Cf. தூரக்காரம் and கேள்விக்காரம்.

2. அன்றுடகனிட்ட கொத்து—

அன்றுடு = அன்றன்று, daily, from day to day. (Tamil Lexicon)

அன்றுடுகாசு = current coin.

அன்றுடு நற்காசு இரண்டாயிரம்— (S. I. I. V, No 1003.)

இற்றை இவர்பக்கல் வாங்கின அன்றுடு வழங்கும் நெல்மேனி கலியுக ராமன்பணம் (Mudaliar document dated 659 M. E.)

கொத்து = கொற்று, wages.

3. எய்ச்சோறு = an ancient village cess.

It is differently spelt as எற்சோரு, or எச்சோறு.

இந்நிலத்தால் பஞ்சவாரமும் எச்சோறும் நேர்(வ)ாயமும் வெட்டி வெதிலேயும்— S. I. I. V, No. 572.

இந்நிலம் சந்திராதித்தவல் இறையும் எச்சோறும் ஊரோடே இறுப்பதாக செய்து குடுத்தோம் —(Pudukkottai Inscriptions, No. 20)

இன்னிலத்துக்கு நீர்விலை அந்தராயக்கா சென்றும் ம(வா)த்திரம் உப்புக் காசென்றும் வெட்டி அமஞ்சி எச்சோறு கூற்றுநெல்லென்றும் மற்று எப்பேர்ப்பட்டின கடவனல்லாதா ஞகவும் — (S. I. I. VI, No. 434)

4. பெரும்பேறு or பெருப்பேறு.

"Peru is the abstract noun of peru (to obtain) and peram(p)peru probably signifies that which is not due to be levied or demanded." — (T. A. S. Vol V, Pt. III, p. 206).

பெருப்பேறு வேண்டிப் பிடிச்சு உல்பத்தி நடத்தால் — (T. A. S. Vol V, Pt. III, p 211)

DOCUMENT 3

Royal Neettu dated 7—3—808 (1632 A. D.) declaring that the people of Nanchinad need give the king on the anniversary of his birthday, onam, and other occasions no more than the quantity of vegetables and curds given in his uncle Kulasekhara Perumal's reign. Script, Malayalma.

Who knows whether Nanchinad was included in Kulasekhara's kingdom? — T. K. J.

1. நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் பெரும்பற்றில் நமக்கு பிறந்நாள்க்கும் ஓணத்திலும் பூசெக்கும்

2. திருத்தாரைக்கும் ஆண்டுதோறும் கெட்டிவைக்கின்ற சுமடும் தயிரும் கீழ்மரிசாதி ஒள்ளவண்ணம்

3. அல்லாதே ஏறறம் எழுதி உபத்திரகம் செய்யின்று என்றுஞ் சொல்லி நாட்டார் நம்மோடு தங்க

4. டம் பறஞ்ஞாறே பண்டு முன்னுள் குலசேகரப் பெருமாள் அம்மாவன்றெ காலத்து சுமடும்

5. தயிரும் கெட்டியவண்ணமே தங்கள் கெட்டி நடக்குமாறும் இவ்வண்ணம் அல்லாதே ஏற்றம்

6. செட்டிண்டாம் என்றும் இவ எண்ணூற்று எட்டாமாண்டு அல்பசிமாதம் ஏழாந்தியதி கல்பித்தமைக்கு

7. இச்செய்தி சொல்லி நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் வடவகை தென்வீதி நாடமைந்த பேர்க்கு நீட்டு எழுதிவிடு என்று திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு.

DOCUMENT 4

Royal Neettu dated 22—6—832 (1657 A. D.) addressed to the people of Nanchinad. 1. As the people of Nanchinad had abandoned their country and gone away to Aramboly on the eastern frontier, the king (Ravi Varma, 786—838 M. E.) went down to Bhoothappandi, sent messengers to them and redressed their grievances. 2. (The head of) the Martanda Varman Mut at

Thiruvattar had broken the tom-tom of Nanchinad, and the Nanchinadians retaliated by setting fire to the Mut. So the king made good the Mut's loss and presented Nanchinad with two tom-toms of bronze, four vendayams of silver and a horn. 3. The people were invited to Bhoothappandi and, on their representation, succession duty and tanittantam (தனித்தண்டம்=poll-tax?) were abolished from 22—6—832 M. E. Script, Malayalma. —T. K. J.

Vendayams are hollow rings of brass or other metal with loose pebbles inside. They are generally found put round the two ends of the rope from which the native drum called murasu hangs. The rings jingle when the drum is beaten. Silver vendayams were presented by the king as a mark of respect or special favour. — S. D. P.

1. நாஞ்சிநாட்டு மங்கலம் முதெல் மணக்குடி வரெக்கு ஒள்ள நாடு ஒக்க பலபல உபத்திரங்ஙளும்

2. பலபல தங்கடங்களும் கொண்டு ஆரவாயிமுழியில் நீங்ஙி இரிக்ககொண்டு நாம் பூதப்பாண்டியில் வந்நு

3. இருந்நு (பேரகத்து?) சிறிகுமான் (?) நாராயணனெயும் இளம்பேல் மாத்தாண்டனிரவியெயும் விளத்தி(?)

4. இராமனீராம (ஞ)டும் பிள்ளமாரெயும் சாத்திருக்கி நாட்டின்றெ தங்கடங்ஙளும் தீத்து

5. கொடுத்து, திருவாட்டாற்று மாத்தாண்டவன்மன்மடத்தில் நின்று நாட்டின்றெ முரசு வெட்டிக் கீறியதினெ

6 கொண்டு மேல்படி இ(ல்)லத்து மடம் நாடுகேறி சுடுக (கொண்டு யில்)ளாம் மேல்ப்படி மடத்திலேக்கு

7. கழிவும் செய்துகொடுத்து நாட்டிலேக்கு இரண்டு வெண்கல முரசும் வெள்ளியினால் நாலு வெண்டயமும் (கொம்பும்)

8. கொடுத்து, நாட்டாரெயும் பூதப்பாண்டியில் வருத்திச்சு நாடு நம்மெ வந்நு கண்டதின்றெ சேழம் புருஷாந்திரப்பருக்கைக்கும்

9. தனித்தெண்டமும் வேண்டிச்சால் நாட்டினு தங்கடம் ஒண்டென்று நம்மோடு சொல்லுகயால் எண்ணூற்று முப்பத்து இரண்டாமாண்டு தைய்மாதம்

10. இருபத்து இரண்டாந் தியதி முதெல்க்கு புருஷாந்திரப் பருக்கையும் தனித்தெண்டமும் வேண்டிக்க இல்ல என்றும்

11. செய்க. இவ மேல்படி ஆண்டு மேல்படி மாதம் இருபத்து இரண்டாந் தியதி கல்ப்பித்தமைக்கு

12. இச்செய்தி சொல்லி வடவகை தென்வீதி நாடமைந்த பேர்க்கு நீட்டு எழுதிவிடு என்று திருவுள்ளமாயிய நீட்டு.

[சாத்திருக்கி=யாத்திரை ஆக்கி, sent. — T. K. J.]

DOCUMENT 5

Royal Neettu of 23—3—830 (1654 A. D.) (perhaps 836). (1) Confirms the exemption from succession duty and *tanittantam* sanctioned previously at Bhoothappandi. (See Document 4). (2) Nanchinadians themselves may take action if the Muts in the sanketas (temple lands) go against the custom in vogue in the king's uncle's time. (3) Narasimhan Krishnan alone is authorised to have dealings with them in the king's business. Others who do so will be dealt with by Krishnan. (4) If the Muts fail to pay back sums borrowed from Nanchinad, the *melvaram* (landlord's share of the produce) shall be appropriated, but not the lands. Script, Malayalma.

The king's uncle is Kulasekhara Perumal as in Document 3. There seems to be some mistake in the date of Document 4 or 5. Could the date எண்ணூற்று முப்பதாமாண்டு (830) here be a mistake for எண்ணூற்று முப்பத்தாறாமாண்டு (836)? The symbols for தா and று were very much alike in Malayalma. —T.K. J.

1. நாம் பூதப்பாண்டியில் வந்ததின்றெ சேழும் நிங்ஙள் ஒக்கக்கூட. நாட்டின்றெ தங்கடம் பலதும் நம்மோடு

2. சொல்லுகையில் பிருபூரந்தரபரு(ர்)க்கை தனித்தெண்டம் வகைக்கு முன்பில் ஒழிஞ்ஞு நாம் நிங்ஙள்க்கு நீட்டு தந்நதின்

3. மண்ணம் நடந்துகொள்ளுமாறும், சந்தேதம் இடப்பட்ட மடங்ஙளில் ஒள்ளவர் முன்பில் அம்மாவன்றெ நெரத்தே

4. நடந்நவண்ணம் அல்லாதே அதிக்கிரமம் ஒண்டெங்கில் நிங்ஙள் தன்னே சோதிச்சு கொள்ளுமாறும், நமக்கு

5. காட்டினோடு காரியம் பறயத்தக்கது ஒண்டெங்கில் நாரசிங்கன் கிட்டினான் வருந்நதல்லாதே

6. மற்றொருத்தர் வந்நு உபத்திரிக்கில் உபத்திரகம் ஒழிச்சுதருவான் கிட்டினோடு நாம் கற்ப்பிச்சிட்டு

7. ஒண்டெந்நும், மடங்ஙளில் கடென் கொடுத்த கடக்காறெர் கடன் கொண்டவரிடெ நடெமாடு (த)டுத்(து) அவரிடெ சொத்

8 தில் மேல்வாரமும் முடக்கிக் கொள்ளுந்நது அல்லாதே குடிபதி கையேறி உற்பத்தி அடக்குவானும் ஏர்த்தடை செய்வ்

9. வானும் போகருதெந்நு நாம் கற்பிச்சு என்றும் இவ எண்ணூற்று முப்பதாமாண்டு அற்பசிமாதம் இருபத்து

10. மூன்றுந்தேதி கற்பித்தமைக்கு இச் செய்தி சொல்லி வடவனை தென்விதி நாடு அமைந்தபேர்க்கு

11. நீட்டு எழுதி விடு என்று திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு.

DOCUMENT 6

Royal Ninavu (letter) declaring that the king has no hand in Anantoji Nayakka's raid on Nanchinad, and asking the people of Nanchinad to repulse the inroad as he (the king) is not able to do so. (No date). Anantoji's raid took place 892—94 M. E. (See T. A. S. V, 219). Script, Tamil.—T. K. J.

1. தென்விதிநாட்டார் கண்டு:—

2. அனந்தோசி நாயக்கர் டுப்பந்தலில் வந்து பாளபவும் செய்து தாழக்குடிக்குக் கிழக்கொக்கயும் கொள்ளயிடுகயும்

3. நூல்தாலி பறிக்கயும் ஆடுமாட்டிச்சுகொண்டு போகயும் இங்ஙனே ஒள்ள அக்கிரமங்ஙள் காட்டியதொக்கெயும்

4. நம்முடெ மனத்தோடு காட்டியெந்நும் நாமுள்ளுகொடுத்து எந்நும் அவலேசம் நிருவிக்கேணடா. இப்போள் நாம்

5. நிருவிச்சால் ஒள்ள செய்தி நிங்ஙள்க்கு அறியாமல்லோ. அதறிஞ்ஞு நாட்டாராயிட்டு ஒழிக்கத்தக்கவண்ணம் மனது

6. செலுத்திக கொள்ளுகயும் வேணம். அதினொத்தபோலே நாமிரிக்குந்நதும் ஒண்டெந்நும்

7. இப்படிக்குத் திருவுள்ளத்தின்படி நினவு எழுதின

8. கணக்கு தப்பி இராமன் இராமன் எழுத்து

DOCUMENT 7

Royal Neettu dated 25—11—898 (1723 A. D.) remitting 25 per cent of tax in kind on lands in Nanchinad for the pisan (dry season) crop of 898 M. E. as the paddy had to be removed to a place of safety on account of the king's delay in sending away the Naik's men and horses that had come from Trichinopoly and encamped in Ittankad in Nanchinad. Script, Malayalma — T. K. J.

நாயக்கர்வகை ராணுவும் குதிரையும் திருச்சில்லாப் பள்ளியில்நிந்நும் புறப்பட்டு நாஞ்சி நாட்டில் ஈத்தங்காட்டு வெளியில் பாளயஞ் செய்து இரிக்கயில் பறஞ்ஞு அயப்பான் நாள்தாமதம் வரிககொண்டு வித்தும் நெல்லும் படகடத்தி இட்ட வெந்தம்கொண்டு நாட்டார் ஆச்சிராமத்து வந்நுகூடி தங்கடம் பறகையில் அாகூடிஅ ளூ பிசானம் மேல்வாரவும் உபயம்பவிசையும் மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடிவரெ தளிசங்கேதம் பெரும்பற்று உள்பட கோட்டை 1 க்கு ¼ கோட்டை நெல் கழிக்கயில் கோட்டைக்கு முக்கால்வீதம் அளக்குமாறும் சொல்வி அாகூடிஅ-ளூ ஆனிமீ உயிருவ ல்ப்பித்தமைக்கு வடவகை தென்பீதி நாடமைந்த பேர்க்கு நீட்டு எழுதிவிடு எந்நு திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு

1. ஈத்தங்காட்டுவெளி—ஈத்தங்காடு is a small village very near தாமரக்குளம் (Thamarakkulam). It is now mostly inhabited by members of the oilmonger caste (வாணியர்). It is on the Cape road between Sucheendram and Cape Comorin.

ஈந்து + காடு = ஈத்தங்காடு.

ஈந்து = (1) Date palm, பேரீந்து

(2) Small wild date palm, சிற்றீந்து.

வெளி = open space or ground, maidan, or plain.

2. ஆச்சிராமம்—a suburb of Sucheendram. The name is a corruption of Sanskrit Asramam, hermitage.

The place is said to have been the hermitage of sage Atri. See Sucheendra Sthalapuranam. — S. D. P.

3. படகடத்தி இட்ட வெந்தம்.

Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar's reading is பட கிடத்தி இட்டு வந்தம கொண்டு.

— See Travancore Archaeological Series Vol V, p. 221.

His translation given on the next page is as follows:—

"as considerable plunder of paddy and seed-grain occurred".

—S. D. P.

The reading should be இட்ட வெந்தம் as in Mr. Desivinayagam Pillai's text, and not இட்டு வந்தம. வெந்தம் is from Sanskrit bandham and has acquired in Malayalam the meaning cause, or occasion. படகடத்திஇடுதல் means putting away from the army, and nothing else. See the following extract from T. A. S. Vol. V., P. 219, lines 5—7.

சிவிந்திரத்தில் சுவாமியுட சங்கேதமானபடியினாலே அவிடமொரு ஒதுக்கிடமென்று சொல்வி நாட்டிலுண்டான பெட்டிப் பிரமாணமும் பொன் வெள்ளி வெங்கலபாத்திறமும் சீலபிடவையளும் நெல்லும் வித்தும் படைகடத்திகொண்டு போட்ட வகை எல்லாம் கொள்ளை யாடிண படியினலெயும்

See also நாடுகடத்தி, meaning exiled from the country.

A copy of the above document printed in T. A. S. V, 221, has the following heading:—

"அாகூடிஅ ஷுல ஆனி மீ உயிரு நாயக்கர் அப்பய்யனும் ராணுவும் வந்தவகைக்கு மேல்வாரம் உபயம்பவிசை வகக்கு கோட்டை க க்கு கோட்டை வ களிச்ச வகக்கு நீட்டு."

T. K. J.

DOCUMENT 8

Royal Ninavu of 5—6—899 (1724 A. D) demanding from three persons with the title of mazhavarayan (chief or lord) part of the anchali tax at the rate of six fanams per ma of land, and promising to go in person, and redress their grievances before collecting the balance due. Script, Tamil.— T. K. J.

குமாரசுவாமி மழவராயனும் செவனியாண்டி மழவராயனும் வேலாயுதப்பெருமாள் மழவராயனும் முன் அாகூடிஅளூல (பிசான)மும்

கூடிகூ௵ காருப் ஆக பூ 2 க்கு வச வேண்டும் அஞ்சாலிக்கு முன்பே நீட்டு பிடிப்பிச்சிட்டு ஒண்டல்லோ. ஆ அவத்தையில் அரிசிப்படி செலவுவகைக்கு பாசிறுபெருபிரிவு வகைக்கும் கூட பஞ்சாங்கம் கோவிந்தன்பிள்ள வசம் இப்போள் மாத்தால் ஆறு பணம் அடைச்சு கொடுக்குமாறும் சேழம் வரேண்டுந்ந பணத்தினு நாம் அங்ஙு ஒரு தானத்தில் எத்தி நாட்டில் தங்கடம் தீற்து தந்நு பணம் அடைப்பிச்சு கொள்ளுகயும் ஆம் எந்நும் இப்படிக்கு அாகூடிகூ௵ தைமீ௴ ருஉ திருவுள்ளத்தின்படி நினவு.

1. மழவராயன் is not a title of the Mudaliar. The agent of the people, who attended to or looked after the common affairs of a Pidakai was designated மழவராயன் in ancient Nanchinad. He was the people's man and not a Government servant.

But a study of the South Indian inscriptions shows that மழவராயன், கலிங்கராயன் and பல்லவராயன் are either titles conferred on ministers, or names of royal seats, thrones.

(a) எழு மளவராயமாரையும் கற்க்குளத்துக்கு நம்பிரான் திருமுன்னே அனுப்பித் திருமனதிலும் அறிவிச்சும்—(T. A. S. Vol. V, p. 223)

(b) இறையிலியாக இடப்பெறவேணுமென்று அய்யன் மழவராயர் நமக்குச் சொன்னமையில்—S. I. I. Vol. V, No 440.

(c) ஐய்யன் காலிங்கராயன் நமக்குச் சொன்னமையில்—S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 302.

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(a) நாஞ்சிநாட்டு கோட்டாற்றுக் கோயிற்பள்ளியறைக்கூடத்துப் பள்ளிப்பீடம் மழவராயனில் எழுந்தருளியிருந்து—(S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 428)

(b) மதுரைக் கோயிற்பள்ளியறைக் கூடத்து பள்ளிப்பீடங் கலிங்கராயனில்எழுந்தருளியிருந்து—(S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 417)

(c) மதுரைக் கோயில்பள்ளியறைக்கூடத்துப் பள்ளிப்பீட ...பல்லவரையனில் எழுந்தருளியிருந்து (S. I. I. Vol. V, No. 421).

Most probably the thrones might have been named after the ministers மழவராயன், கலிங்கராயன் and பல்லவராயன்.

The word மழவர் is very often met with in ancient Tamil works.

(a) வண்டு படத்துறைந்த கண்ணி யொண்கழ
லுருவக் குதிரை மழவரோட்டிய
முருகநற்போர் நெடுவேளாவி.
(அகம்—களிற்று யானைநிரை-1)

(b) தீம்புழல் வல்சிக்கழூர் கான்மழவர்
பூந்தலை முழுவினோன் றலைகடுப்ப—

(c) மைபடு பெருந்தோண் மழவரோட்டி
—(மதுரைக்காஞ்சி)

(d) குவியற்கண்ணி மழவர் மெய்ம்மறை.

(e) வானவரம்பனெனப் பேரினிது விளக்கியேனை மழவரைச் செருவிற் சுருக்கி.
—(பதிற்றுப்பத்து)

(f) மழவர்பெரும (புறம்-90)

In all these cases the word மழவர் means only வீரர்.

2. அஞ்சாலி—

"Anjali was the name of a kind of cess levied on paddy lands in South Travancore. It is considered to represent 'the tax in grain which was substituted in place of the expenses of providing wicker-work images which it was the duty of the Nanjinadu people to set up during the festivals in temples.' The derivation of the word is however obscure though it is said to be compounded of anju=five and ali=images." (T. A. S. Vol. V, p. 204).

Another derivation may be offered.

அஞ்சலி = Double handful of grain —(Tamil Lexicon)

Compare அரியெடுப்பு: "Double handful of grain, as much grain as can be held by both the hands, given as a perquisite from

the threshing floor to village servants at the division of produce".—(Tamil Lexicon).

Can we not derive அஞ்சாலி from அஞ்சலி? [Could it be அம்ச ஆலி, or அமைஞ்ச ஆலி? ஆலி means tax. ஷஷ்டாம்சம், one-sixth, was from ancient times due to the king as his share of the produce of lands. Cp. Manu 7: 131, 132.] — T. K. J.

3. பாசிலு பெருபிரிவு— a puzzling expression. Is not this a corruption of some foreign word?

DOCUMENT 9

Royal Neettu dated 5—12—899 (1724 A. D.) informing the people of Nanchinad that a princess, Kunchu Unni, has given birth to a child. Script, Tamil — T. K. J.

அாகூய்சூ ஷுல கற்கடக மீ ௩ வ ஞாயரு ழ்ச்சயும் கார்த்திகயும் அமாபக்கிழத்து ஏகா தசியும் அந்ந சிங்காசிகொண்டு குஞ்சுஉண்ணி பிறதமிக்கயும் செய்து எந்நும் இச்செய்தி சொல்லி வடவகைதென்மீதி நாடமைந்த பெர் களுக்கு நீட்டு எழுதிவிடுக எந்நு திருவுள்ள மாய நீட்டு.

DOCUMENT 10

Royal Ninavu dated 25—5—913 (1738 A. D.) prohibiting Ichan Champkaraman from collecting duty on coconut palm leaves brought to Nanchinad. Script, Malayalma. —T. K. J.

1. கணக்கு ஈச்சென் செண்பகராமன் கண்டு:—

2. பொன்மனெ மங்ஙலத்து தென்னோலைக்கு ஆயம் எடுக்கேண்டா எந்நு முன்

3 பே பறஞ்ஞிட்டொண்டல்லொ. ஆயத ல்லாதே நாஞ்சிநாட்டில்க் கொண்டுவருந்ந

4 ஓலகள்க்கும் ஆயமும் எடுப்பும் வேண் ட எந்நு ஒழிஞ்ஞு கொடுத்தி

5. ட்டும் ஒண்டு. ஆயதின்மண்ணம் வட பிடாகைக்கு ஓலகொண்டு வருந்நதினு

6. ஆயம் பொன்மன மங்ஙலத்து எடுக்கு ந்நு எந்நு நாட்டார் நம்மோடு வந்

7. நு பறக கொண்டு பொன்மன மங்ஙல த்து தென்னோலைக்கு ஒள்ள ஆயம் நாம் நாட் டார்க்

8. கு ஒழிஞ்ஞுகொடுத்து எந்நறிஞ்ஞு நின்றெ ஆளுகளோடு பறஞ்ஞு ஆயம் எடுக் கேண்

9. டா எந்நு ஒழிஞ்ஞுகொடுக்கயும் வே ணம் எந்நும்

10. இப்படிக்கு (சூா)மிநகாமது மார்கழி மாதம் உமிரு ந்தீயதி திருவுள்ளத்தின்

11. படி நினவு எழுதின கணக்கு திருமுக த்து மாதேவன் மாத்தாண்டன் எழுத்து.

பொன்மனை மங்கலம்.

மங்கலம் is a small village near பொன்மனை (Kalkulam Taluk). The place is very often referred to in inscriptions and ola documents as forming the northern boundary of Nanchinad.

"மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடிவரைக்கும்"

(T. A. S. Vol V, pp. 215, 217, 219)

"mangalam near Ponmana"

(Travancore State Manual Vol I, p. 316)

DOCUMENT 11

Agreement between Chathankutti on the ne side (A), and Bhoothanatha Mudaliare oand Thanumalayapperumal on the other sid (Bb) dated 11—11—919 (1744 A. D.). Bb's ancestors had by an otti deed, sold a peice of land to A's ancestor. The document was lost, and according to the decision of an arbitrator Kochu Mathevan Pillai, the land was enjoyed again by Bb. Bb subsequently sold it by an otti deed to Avunakalan, who

began to cultivate it, A opposed, and the land had to lie fallow from the Kar (September crop) season of 918 to the Pisanam (Febr. crop) season of 919 M. E. Avunakalan and Bb then resorted to 'marippu' (passive compulsion, an old from of satyagraha), whereby A had to abide by the decision of arbitrators from four villages. Accordingly he received 386 fanams and agreed to destroy the lost original otti deed if it happened to be recovered, or to be forced to do so by all his lands being put under injunction and by his being interned in a circle (valachchuvaippu, an ancient practice). Script, Tamil.

This document is interesting as it makes mention of the ancient practice of marippu and valachchuvaippu described by some ancient travellers in Malabar. — T. K. J.

௯௱௰௯ ௵ ஆனி ௴ ௰௧ உ எழுதின பிடிபாட்டுக் கைச்சீட்டுக்காரியமாவது. ஆனூரான விக்கிரம சோழபாண்டியபுரத்து நகரத்து ஆதிச்சமன் பூதனை முதலியார் உள்ளிட்டாக்கும்

2. ஷை உடைய நயினன் தாணுமாலையப் பெருமாள் உள்ளிட்டார்க்கும் ஷையூர் செட்டு குமாருப்பிள்ளைசாத்தங்குட்டியேன் பிடிபாட்டு கைச்சீட்டு எழுதிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவிது. முன்னுள் குலசேகரன் பட்டணத்து

3. செட்டு வீரலெட்சிமிஅகிலாண்டபிள்ளைக்கு சுனநீர்க்குறிச்சிப்பற்றில் தேவர்குளதகால் நீருண்டு நெல்விளையும் காலடிவட்டம் தடி ௧ நிலம் ௪ குறுணிக்கு முன்னுளிவர்கள் காரணவமார் எழுதிக்குடுத்த ஒற்றி ஓலையும்

4. மாராயக்குறியும் கையிச்சோத்தியம் வந்துபோகையில் இவர்களந்த நிலத்துக்கு இரண்டுபத்துமிருபத்தேழுங்குறைதீந்து குன்னுண்டமடத்து கொச்சுமாதேவன்பிள்ளை வசம் நடுவுங்கெட்டி

5. அவர் வந்தேரும்பூட்டிக் கொடுத்து இவர்க்கு உற்பத்தியுங்கையாளிச்சு யிவாந்த உற்பத்தியை தனது வெள்ளாண்மையுஞ்செய்து யாவிச்சுகொண்டு மறுபடி கட்டிமாங்கோட்டு சானு அவுனகாலனுக்கு

6. மறுபடி ஒற்றியும் வைச்சு அவன் கையாண்டுவரவே எங்களுக்கு ஒற்றி ஓலையும் மாராயக்குறியும் கைசேர்ந்து போனபடியினாலே எங்கள் அத்தந்தாரமலிவர் உற்பத்தியுங்கையாடி மறுஒத்தியும் வைச்சு

7. அவர் உளவன் கையாடினபடியினாலே நாங்கள் நாலுதர மாறுதரம் மறிச்சும் உற்பத்தி செறுத்து எங்களத்தந்தாராதபடியினாலே அந்த வயலை ௯௱௰௮ ௵ கார்முதல் ௰௯ ௵ பிசானம் வரைக்கு முடக்கி தரிசு விழுத்தாட்டின

8. படியினாலே இவர்கள் வந்து என்னை மறிச்சு விளைவாசாரந்தீர்த்துத் தாவேணுமென்றும் உங்களுக்கு உற்பத்தியைத்தொட்டு அத்தந்தாரத்தக்கதில்லையென்றுஞ் சொல்லி என்னை மறிச்சுக்கொள்ளுகையில்

9. நாங்கள் ரண்டுபேருங்கூடி நாலூர் நடுவர் சொல்லும்போலெ கேக்கிலாமென்று நாங்கள் தம்மில் பேசிக்கொண்டபடிக்கு நடுவர் ஆனூர் வெண்ணபெருமாள் காலகுட்டிப்பிள்ளையும் இருளனை மாடன்குமாருவும்

10. சிதம்பரம் மாடம்பிள்ளையும் மேற்படியூர் செட்டு அய்யனடியான் சங்கர மூர்த்தி மூப்பனும் சவனடியான் கண்டுகொண்டான் மூப்பனும் பிளைபொறுத்தான் இராமனுதனும் சோணாசலம் அம்பலவாணனும் வீரநாராயணசேரி நடுவர்

11. மாடன் சோணைப்பிள்ளையும் குமாரசுவாமி சாத்தப்பிள்ளையும் கள்ளியங்காட்டு நடுவர் இளையநயினன் வேலாயுதப்பெருமாள் பிள்ளையும் ஷையூர் பெரியதாணுவ பிள்ளையும் யிவர்களெல்லாவருங்கூடி பெருமாள்பிள்ளை கல்மடத்தில் வந்திருந்து

12. எங்கள் ரண்டுபேர் மொளியுங்கேட்டு இனி நாங்கள் நாலுபேர் சொன்னபடிக்கு உற்பத்தி தரிசு விழுந்த சேதமானாலும் பணத்துக்கு உபையமிளந்த சேதமானாலும் நீங்கள் இரண்டுபேரும் நடுவர் சொல்லும்படிக்கு கேள்க்கவேணும்

13. என்று யிரண்டுபேரையுங்கொண்டு பருக்கையும் வைப்பிச்சு நாலு பேருங்கூடி பேசித்தீத்து என்னைப் பத்திக்கொள்ளச்சொல்லிச் சொன்ன பணம் ௲௩அ௰௬. யிப்பணம் முன்னூற்றெண்பத்தாறும் நான் பத்திக்கொள்ளுகையில் முன் யிவர்கள் காரணவமார்

14. வீரலெட்சிமி அகிலாண்டப்பிள்ளை காரணவமார் பேர்பட்டஒற்றி ஓலையும் மாராயக்குறியும் நான் கைசோர்ந்துபோச்சுதென்று சொன்ன ஓலை யாதொரு காலமானாலும் யிந்த ஓலையாதாமொரு யிடங்களிலே பிறப்பட்டுவெங்கில் தடுத்து முடக்கி

15. கீறுங்கிழியும் படுத்திக் கொள்வாராகவும் கீறுங்கிழியும்படுத்திக் கூடாதிருக்கில் என் நடைமாடு எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும் தடுத்துமுடக்கி வளைச்சு வைச்சு கீறுங்கிழியும் படுத்திகொள்வாராகவும் தடுத்த பொருளுக் கழிவுவருகில் தடுத்தார்மேலும் பொருள் மேலும்

16. சார்ப்பிதாகவும் இப்படி சம்மதிச்சு இந்த ய ௲௩அ௰௬ம் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந்தப் பிடிபாட்டுக் கைச்சீட்டு எழுதிக்கொடுத்தேன் குமாருப்பிள்ளை சாத்தாங்குட்டியேன் ஆதிச்சமன் பூதனுதன் முதலியார் உள்ளிட்டாருக்கும்

17. உடைய நயினான் தாணுமாலையப்பெருமாள் முதலியார் உள்ளிட்டாருக்கும். இப்படிக்கு குமாருப்பிள்ளை சாத்தாங்குட்டி ஒப்பு. இப்படி இவர்கள் சொல்ல இந்தப் பிடிபாட்டுக் கைச்சீட்டு நடுவெழுதின மேற்படியூர் ஆறுமுகம் சொக்கனுதன் எழுத்து.

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1. குலசேகர பட்டணம், a sea-port town near Trichendoor in the Tinnevelly District.

2. மாராயக் குறி

குறி = memorandum, note, document.

மாராயம் = the money paid by a lessee to the owner of the land as security for the pro. per payment of rents.

என் வயற்பாட்டக்காரனிடமிருந்து நூறு ரூபாய் மாராயம் வாங்கியிருக்கிறேன்.'

மாராயம் literally means சந்தோஷம். 'ஒகை மாராய முவகை சந்தோடம் பிரியம்'—(நாமதீப நிகண்டு, 611).

DOCUMENT 12

Royal Neettu dated 30—10—957. M. E. (1782 A. D.) informing the people of Nanchinad that the king's mother's illness has grown worse. Script, Tamil —T. K. J.

கூாரு௰௭ளு இடவமீ ௩௰௨ ஞாயறாழ்ச்சயும் ரோகணியும் அமாபக்ஷத்து பதினன்கும் அந்று விளக்குவச்சு ௰௬௨ நாழிகக்கு மீனராசி நேரத்து அம்மயுடெ ஆலஸியம் வர்த்திக்கயும் செய்து எந்நும் இக்காரியம் சொல்லி நாஞ்சிநாட்டு வடவகை தென்விதி நாட்டார்க்கு நீட்டு எழுதிவிடு எந்து திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு.

DOCUMENT 13

Queen's Neettu informing the people of Nanchinad that the English company's Government has on 15—1—980? (1804 A. D.) made her new-born son king and appointed her regent. Script, Tamil. — T K. J.

1. எத்தறயும் வெகுமானப்பட்ட மகாராசமான்னிய ராசஸ்ரீ இங்கிரேசு கவுண்மென்றூர் அவர்கள் ஆலோசனை செய்து நிச்சயிச்சு இப்போள் புருஷ பிரஜயாயிட்டு நாம் பிறஸவிச்சிட்டுள்ள

2. உண்ணிக்கு வெகுமதிகளும் கொண்டு வந்று ஆண்வழி மூப்பாயிட்டு ஈ சமத்தானத்துக்கு கர்த்தவ்வியமாக்கி கொம்பஞ்ஞி எசமா

ணன்மாரும் கூடியிருந்ந ௲அ௰ ௵ சிங்ங மீ ௰௩ உ பட்டம்கெட்டுகயும்

3. செய்து. உண்ணிக்குப் பிராப்தியாவோளம் நம்முடெ கல்ப்பனைப் பிறகாரம் தன்னே நடக்கத்தக்கவண்ணமத்தறே நிச்சயிச்சு கவுண்மென்றில்நின்நும் எழுத்துகளும் வந்நிருந்நத

4 என்நும் இக்காரியம் சொல்லி தென்மீதி வடமீதி நாடமைந்த பேர்களுக்கு நீட்டு எழுதிவிடு என்நு திருவுள்ளமாயநீட்டு.

DOCUMENT 14

Royal Neettu dated 8—4—980 (1804 A. D.) commanding the people of Nanchinad to hasten to the king at Trivandrum as some of his slodiers in the Fort at Udayagiri are reported to be marching against him along with two officers Nilakantan Chempakaraman Pillai and Padmanabhan Chempakaraman Pillai imprisoned in the Fort for having worked harm to Covernment in several ways. Script Tamil. — T. K. J.

1. திருவட்டாற்று நீலகண்டன் செண்பகராமபிள்ளையும் பார்த்திபுரத்து பல்ப்பனுபன் செம்பகராமபிள்ளையும் பண்டாரக்காரியத்தினு தோழங்ஙன் வருத்துக கொண்டு ஆயவஸ்த இங்கிரீசு

2. கொம்பஞ்ஞியும் அறிஞ்ஞு அவர் இருபேரெயும் உதயகிரிகோட்டயில் கொண்டுசெந்நு காவலில்ஆக்கி யிரிக்கும்போள் அவர் இருபேரும் காவலில்நின்நும் கோட்டகேறிச் சாடிப்போய அவஸ்தயும்

3. பின்னத்ததில் அவரெ பிடிச்சு கொண்டுவந்நு காவலில் ஆக்கியிருந்ந அவஸ்தயும் நிங்ஙள் போதிச்சிட்டுண்டல்லோ. இப்போள் உதயகிரியிலாயிட்டும்

4. பார்க்குந்ந புள்ளியில் எதானம் குஞ்சு கூட்டக் காறர்கூடி நம்முடெ சொல்லுகூடாதெ உதயகிரிக் கோட்டைக்ககத்து காவலில் ஆக்கியிருந்ந நீலகண்டன் செம்பகராமபிள்ளையும் பல்ப்பனுபன் செம்பகராமபிள்ளையும்

5. கூட்டிச்சும்கொண்டு திருவனந்தபுரத்து வருந்நபிறகாரம் பறஞ்ஞு கேள்க்க கொண்டு அக்காரியம் இடபட்டு நிங்ஙளுமாயிட்டு கூடி விசாரிச்சு நிச்சயிக்கேண்டதினு ஸாதனம் கண்டுகூடும்போள்

6. எல்லாபேரும் பிறப்பட்டு வேகத்தில் திருவனந்தபுரத்து வருகயும் வேணம் என்நும்

7. இக்காரியம் சொல்லி ௲அ௰ ௵ கார்த்திக மீ அ உ தென்மீதி வடமீதி நாடமைந்த பேர்க்கு நீட்டு

8. எழுதிவிடு என்நு திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு.

DOCUMENT 15

Judgment No. 96 of 10—11—1004 M. E. (1829 A. D.) delivered at the Padmanabhapuram Court by Chief Justice Chempakaraman Atichan and Second Judge Thomma Ausep(=Thomas Joseph, a Syrian Christian). Script, Tamil. —T. K. J.

பல்ப்பநாபபுரம் கோட்டில் செடுசி திருமுகத்து செம்பகராமன் ஆதிச்சனும் 2 ம செடுசி (தோம்ம அவுஸவும்) பட்டாசாரியர் சாக்ஷிகளும் விஸ்தரிச்சு எழுதிய தீர்ப்பு.

1004 ௵ ஆனி மீ ௰ உ வக்கீல்வக நம்பர் ௯௰௬ மது.

(EXTRACT)

அழகியபாண்டியபுரம் நகரம் வயிரவநாதன் ராமலிங்கம் முதலாய நாலுபேரெ வருத்தி விஸ்தரிச்சாறே அவரிடெயும் அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்தில் பாறக்குந்ந தானக்காறர் முதலியாரிடெயும் பூர்வீகன்மாரு காவிரிப்பட்டணம் எந்ந

இக்கில் பார்த்திருந்நாறே அவிடெநின்றும் எடுபட்டு அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்தும் ஏதானம்பேர் பாண்டியில் கருங்குளத்தும் வல்லநாட்டிலுமாயிட்டு வந்து பார்த்திருந்நாறே சேரன் சோளன் பாண்டியன் மூந்நுராசாக்கன்மாரும்கூடி ஆளூரில் சேரசோழபாண்டிய மகாதேவர் என்று ஒரு சிவனெ பிரதிஷ்டிச்சு ஆவக க்ஷேத்திர காரியம் விசாரிக்குந்நதினு அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்தில் பாற்குந்ந முதலிமாரில் மூந்நுபேரெ அதில் ஒருத்தற்கு வணிகராம முதலியார் என்றும் ஒருத்தற்கு சேரகோனுர் என்றும், ஒருத்தற்க்கு வயிராவணர் என்றும் கல்ப்பிச்சு பேருகொடுத்து நடத்திவரும்போள் அவர் மூந்நுபேரெயும் நாஞ்சிநாட்டு மேடபிடாகைக்கு கல்ப்பிச்சு பிரமாணமாயிட்டாக்கி அவரெயும் அவரிடெ சம்மந்தத்தில் இளந்தாரி முதலிமாரெயும் கல்ப்பிச்சு மானமாயிட்டு ரெக்ஷிச்சு ஊழியவேலக்காரியங்களும் ஒழிஞ்ஞுகொடுத்து நடந்நுவருந்ந ஸங்கதியில்......

DOCUMENT 16

Royal Ninavu (undated) informing the headmen of the Chettis of Aloor that orders have been issued exempting them from certain taxes, and asking them to pay 1000 fanams by 10th Masi as the king is badly in need of money. Original in Tamil script. — T. K. J.

(ஆளூர்செட்டி மு)ப்பமாரும் பல பட்டறையும் கண்டு:—

நிங்ஙள்க்கு பலகூட்டம் தங்கடம் உண்டெந்நு உள்ளது கிட்டிணய்யன் இங்ங பறஞ்ஞுபச்சிட்டு நிங்ஙடெ தங்கடமும் நீக்கிப்பொறுப்பிச்சு வைக்கிந்நதும் உண்டு. நிலங்ஙளுக்கு உள்ளதி... ...யெ இட்டு அரமனையாருக்கு குடுத்து ......ச்சால் மற்றுள்ளதினு ஒரு உபத்திரவம் உண்டாகாதெ இரிக்கத்தக்கவண்ணம் நாம் வடமலையப்பபிள்ளைக்கு இவுடிந்நு ஓலை எழுதி அயச்சிட்டும் உண்டு. திருவாங்கோட்டுக்கு அப்புறம் வடமலையப்ப பிள்ளை பார்சுபம்செய்தல்லே இரிக்குந்நு. இவுடெ சிலவினு பத்துபணம் ஆளூரிந்நு வந்நிட்டுவேணும். அதறிஞ்ஞு மாசி மீ ௰ உ க்ககம் ஆயிரம்பணம் அடைச்சுகுடுக்குமாறும் இப்படிக்கு திருவுள்ளத்தின்படி. நினவு எழுதிய கணக்கு பெருமாள் ராமன் எழுத்து.

ஆளூர்: a small village near the Shungankadai hill (சுங்காங்கடைப் பொற்றை) on the main road from Trivandrum. It is about 4 or 5 miles to the west of Nagercoil.

In ancient records it is known as "விக்கிரம சொழபாண்டியபுரம்".

The presiding deity of the temple there is called சொழ பாண்டீச்வரர்.

"ஆளூரான விக்கிரம சோழபாண்டியபுரத்து நயினார் சோழபாண்டீச்வரமுடைய நயினார் கொயில்" (Mudaliar document dated 21st Ani, 696 M. E.)

The name of the above God given in another Mudaliar document dated 942 M. E. is "சேரசோளபாண்டீச்வரர்"

"ஆளூர் நயினார் சேரசோளபாண்டீசுவரமுடைய நயினார்கோயில்" (Mudaliar document dated 942 M. E.)

A branch of the Periaveettu Mudaliar family of Azhakiapandiapuram is still living at ஆளூர். The members of this branch are even now the trustees of the temple referred to above. They are also known as Vanigaramans.

— S. D. P

1. அரமனையார் = the Madura Nayk.

2. வடமலையப்ப பிள்ளை is mentioned in some Tinnevelly and Cape Comorin inscription as a contemporary of Tirumala Nayk (1623—59), and Chokkanatha Nayk (1659–78 A.D.). See T. A. S., V, 199, 201.

— T. K. J.

DOCUMENT 17

Royal Ninavu informing the Nanchinadians that, on the strength of an official report prohibitory orders have been issued for redressing some of their grievances, and promising to redress the rest when the king would be at Bhoothappandi for the car festival there, No date. Script, Tamil. —T. K. J.

1. வடவகை நாட்டார்கண்டு.

2. நாட்டுத்தங்கடங்ஙள்க்கு ஒக்கெயும் குப்
பானும் காலகுட்டிப்பிள்ளையும் கொடுத்தாட்ட
வரிஓலையும் நினவுகளும் வாயிச்சு கேட்டும்

3. மழவராயன்மார் பறஞ்ஞுகேட்டும் அவ
த்தைகள் ஒக்கெயும் அறிகெயும் செயிது.
அவ்வண்ணம் தன்னே தங்கடங்ஙள்

4. ஒக்கெயும் ஒழிஞ்ஞெ விலக்குநினவு
களும் எழுதிக்கொடுத்து அய்க்கெயும் செயிது.
தங்கடங்ஙள் ஒக்கெயும் ஒழிகெயும் செய்யும்.
நாம் பூதப்பாண்டி

5. தேரோட்டத்தினு எத்தியால் சேழும்
ஒள்ள தங்கடங்ஙள் ஒக்கேயும் நாட்டாருமாயி
ட்டெ கண்டு பறைஞ்ஞுங்கொண்டெ நாட்டார்
பறைஞ்ஞதின்

6. வண்ணம் ஒள்ள தங்கடங்ஙள் ஒக்கே
யும் ஒழிப்பிச்சு தருந்நதும் ஒண்ட. சேழும்
ஒள்ள அவத்தைகள் ஒக்கேயும் குப்பானும்
மழவராயன்

7. மாரும் வந்ந பறையும்போழ் அறிகெ
யும் ஆம். அவ்வண்ணம் தன்னே குப்பான்றெ
கூடெயும் காலகுட்டிப்பிள்ளையெடெ கூடெ
யும்

8. பறைஞ்ஞெ காரியம் திகைச்சு எடுத்து
கொள்ளுகெயும் வேணும் எந்நும்

9. இப்படிக்குத் திருவுள்ளத்தின்படி நின
வு எழுதின

10. கணக்கு தம்பி இராமன் இராமன்
எழுத்து.

DOCUMENT 18

Petition (date missing) from Nayinar Arumukhapperumal Nayinar on behalf of the people of Nanchinad, praying the Sovereign to save them from the Dewan (Ummini Tampi, Doc. 19), who had used insulting words to the Mazhavarayanmar (i. e. the Mudaliars), caused them to be beaten by his arikkarar (i. e. harkars, peons), and broke their rod of office into splinters. He had also caused their houses to be searched by the Karyakkars (magistrates) of Tovala and Agastiswaram, who seized their public drum and horn and sent those things to the Dewan at Alleppey. He broke them (Document 19, line 16) and caused the Mudaliars to be beaten. He also imposed on them the demeaning task of collecting rice husked for the Sirkar by women, getting brooms ready (சீக்கோல் கெட்டுக்கவேணும்), and catching fowles (from the huts of low castes) and supplying them (probably to the European officers). Script. Tamil.—T. K. J.

.. ஆதீனம் தோன்றின நாள்முதல்க்கு கல்
பிச்சுதந்து........ வங்கலமுரசும் வெள்ளிபொ
ந்தியும் கொம்பும் வைக்க ம திவான்சியவர்கள்
சொன்னதுக்கு பழமையிலே ....துயிருக்
கிற தானமானம் ஆனதிஞலே திருமுன்பில் ...
மல் மத்தொருயிடத்தில் வைக்கிறதில்லை என்
றும் ...திவான்சியவர்கள் அதிட்சயமாயிட்டு
உள்ளவாக்குகளும் சொல்லி அரிக்காறரை விட்
டு மழவராயன்மாரை அடிச்சு அவர்கள் கைய்
யில் யிருக்கிற பொந்திலைப் பிடிச்சுபறிச்சு தி
வான்சியவர்கள்முன்பில் கொண்டுவைத்துப்
பின்னெ கையிலெடுத்து தறையில்அடிச்சு நா
லாறு முறியாய் முறிச்சு சதைச்சு எறியவும்
செய்தார். பின்னிட்டு தோவாழை அகத்தீசுவ
ரம் மண்டபத்தும் வாதுக்கல் காரியகாறன்
மார்க்கு எழுதி அனுப்பி அவர்கள் ஆள்விட்டு

விடுசோதனைசெய்து வெங்கலமுரசும் கொம்
பும் எடுப்பிச்சுகொண்டு வந்து அரிக்காறனையும்
ஏள்ப்பிச்சு ஆலப்பிளைக்கு கொண்டுபோனது
பின்னே திவான்சியவர்கள் எடுத்து குத்திக்
கீறி அடிக்சு சன்னமாக்கி இட்டது. பின்னே
.. .. தந்து நடந்துவந்த சட்டவரியோலைப்படி
அல்லாமல் (அம்ப)லகாறரைக்கொண்டு மண்
டபத்தும் வாதுக்கலிலும் திரு(வாசலிலும் நி)
றுத்தி அடிப்பிச்சு பலவகக்கும் குடியில்குக்த
இடுவிச்ச.........ள அரிசி குடிசிகதீர்த்து நீங்
கள்தானே பிரிக்கவேணும்... ....க கொல் கெ
ட்டிக்கவேணுமென்றும் கொழிபிடிச்சு .. ...
ஏள்ப்பிக்கவேணுமென்றும் உள்ள விரோதங்க
ள்பெருத்துநடந்து வருகிறது இந்தப்படி ஒள்
ள தங்கடங்கள் எல்லாம் கல்ப்பிச்சு கேட்டு தீர்
த்துதந்து அடியத்தமாரை பழமையிலே கல்ப்
பிச்சு லெட்சித்து வந்தபடிக்கு லெட்சிக்க
வேண்டியது. இந்தப்படிக்கு வரியோலை எழு
திவைச்ச வடவகைதென்வீதி நாடமைந்தபேர்
க்கு நயினர் ஆறுமுகப்பெருமாள்நயினர்.

'வெங்கலமுரசும் கொம்பும் வெள்ளிகெட்டின பொந்தியும்" were once before given to the Mudaliars in 896 or 897 M. E. (See T. A. S., V. 222). Vide Document 4 (page 26) for another presentation of bronze drums with hollow, jingling silver rings, and a horn in 832 M. E. The destruction of these insignia by Dewan Ummini Tampi described here is referred to in the Mudaliars' petition (Document 19) submitted to Dewan Colonel Munro.

— T. K. J.

DOCUMENT 19.

A petition (from the Mudaliars) to Dewan Colonel Munro, beginning with salaam and ending with salaam. The following points are referred to in the petition: (1) There was scarcity of paddy and money in Nanchinad. (2) Paddy was taken from there to distant places by boat and ship for sale. (3) The price of paddy was 3 to $6\frac{1}{2}$ chakrams per parah. (4) Tax in Nanchinad was very high. (5) There were no merchants to take paddy for sale to other places. (6) About a lakh of rupees was spent by Government as monthly salary on the army and construction of buildings of wood and stone in Nanchinad. (7) No money could be had in exchange of paddy. (8 There were petty thefts in Nanchinad. (9) A petition had previonsly been sent to him regarding the destruction of their drum, horn, and rod of office by Dewan Ummini Thampi (Document 18). (10) Copies of a Neettu of 17—3—870 and of a stone inscription of 13—10—871 M. E. were appended to the present petition.

— T. K. J.

1. மகாராச மானிய ராசஸ்ரீ கற்ணல் மன்று
றோவ்சாய்பு துரையவர்கள் சன்னிதானத்து
க்கு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு வடவகைதென்மீதி நாட்
டார் நிரம்ப வணக்கத்துடனே

2. சலாஞ்செய்து எழுதிக்கொண்ட அற்
ச்சி என்னவென்றால். மலையாளத்திலேயுள்ள
மண்டபத்துவாதக்கல்லில் சொற்ணதாய மா
விடை மாவிடை பலவிருச்சங்களும் பெருத்து
ள்ள இடமான திநாலெ

3. யும் நெல்லாநூலும் பணமாநூலும்
யொரு இறையாய் சுருங்கின படியினாலெயும்
நிலங்களும் சுருக்கமானதினாலெயும் பாட்ட
நிலங்கள் பெருத்து இல்லாததினாலெயும்
ஏதான

4. மிடங்களில் யாவாரிகளும் வள்ளம்வளி
க்கும் உருவளிக்கும் தூரதுலைகளில் கொண்
டுபோய் நெல்லு விலைப்பட்டு வருகிறதினாலெ
யும் பறைக்கு மூணுசக்கறம் முதல் ஆறுசக்கறம்
வரையும்

5. கைச்சீட்டு எழுதிவைச்சிரிக்கிது. நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் நிலங்கள் பெருத்தும் பாட்டம் மேல்வாரம் அதிகமாயிட்டும் ஏதானநிலங்கள் பொவர்நிலங்களாயிட்டும் ஆறும்குளமும் பெருத்துள்ள தேசமானதினாலே ஏதானநிலங்கள் வெள்ளக்கெட்டாயிட்டும் மனை பிகுதியுள்ள காலத்து

6. கூடக்கூட உடைப்பு வருகிற நிலமானதினாலெயும் மேல்வாரம் பாட்டமல்லாமல் அஞ்சாலிவிரையிடு சத்தக்கூலி அடுக்குமுது கோட்டைகுளிபணம் மாத்தால்பயறு இந்தப்படி பலவிதத்தினாலெயும்

7. இறை அதிகமாயிருக்கிற இடமானதினாலெயும் பலவிருட்சங்களும் சொற்ணா ஆதாயமும் புஞ்சைப்பயிரும் எத்திரெயும் சுருக்கமாயிருக்கிற இடமானதினாலெயும் அவிடத்திலெ

8. யுள்ளநெல்லு மத்தொருதிக்குக்கு கொண்டுபோய் விலைப்போகிறதுக்கு யாபாரிகமும் இயல்வும் இல்லாத்த இடமானதினாலெயும் முன் இந்தநாட்டில் லாயம் கந்தாசாரம் கற்ணடகம்

9. புள்ளிபட்டாளம் மராப்பணிவேலை கல்ப்பணிவேலை இந்தப்படி பலவிதத்திலுமாயிட்டு மாதம் ஒந்நுக்கு லட்சம் ரூபாய் வரையும் சம்பளச்செலவுண்டா இருந்ததினாலே

10. நெல்லுக்கு விலைஉண்டா இருந்திது. இப்போது நெல்லு விலைப்போகிறதுக்கு உள்ள இடை இல்லாத்ததுனாலையும் நெல்லு விலைவெச்சால் குடிகளோடிப் போறதல்லாமல் பணதுக்குவளியாக

11. மாட்டாதென்று எங்கள் மனதுக்கு நிச்சயம் வந்திருக்கிறதினாலெயும் ராச்சியத்தில் சிறிது கள்ளங்கள் நடந்துவருகிறதாக கல்ப்பினை வந்த காரியத்துக்கு பத்துவருசம் முதலெடுத்த கணக்கும் பார்த்து

12. உமக ௵ ஆயக்கெட்டு எடுத்துப் பெருத்த மேல்வாரம்பாட்டம் வகைக்கு இப்போது இறங்கி கண்டு ஆக இந்தமூன்று விதமும் பார்த்து இன்னபடி என்று நிச்சயிச்சு கல்ப்பனை தந்தால்

13. அந்தப்படி அனுதரிச்சுக் கொள்ளவுமாம். நாங்கள் ஏழைக்குடியாய் குடித்தனம் பண்ணுகிறவனே யல்லாது மத்தொருதொளிலும் எங்களுக்கு வசமில்லாததினாலெயும் கீளிலும்

14. மகாராசா அவர்களுக்கு இணங்க பண்பாய் நடந்துவந்த பேரானதினாலெயும் இப்போதும் அந்தப்படியே யல்லாமல் மத்தபடி நடக்கிறதில்லை. ஏதானாலும் சாய்ப்பு அவர்கள்

15. அவடத்துக்குவந்து கண்பார்த்து இன்னபடிவேணுமென்று கல்பனைவர்தால் அந்தபடி கேட்டுநடந்துகொள்ளவுமாம். இதுவல்லாமலும் பளமையிலேவுள்ள ராசாக்கமார் எங்களுக்கு

16. தந்திருந்த விருதுகளும் தானமானங்களும் முன் திவானுகஇருந்த உம்முணித்தம்பி என்கிறவர் அன்னீதமாக தள்ளிவெச்ச செய்திக்கும் சமுட்சம்மத்திலே நாங்கள் எழுதிவச்ச

17. பிட்டுசத்தின்படிக்கு விசாரிச்சு தரவேண்டியது. இந்தவகையமுக்கு அாஎம ௵ அல்ப்பசி மீ 17 உயும் 871 ௵ வைகாசி மாதம் 13 திபதியும் கல்ப்பிச்சு எழுதித்தந்த நீட்டுக்கும் கல்விட்டுநாட்டுக்கு மாயுள்ள பேற்ப்பு கூட குடுத்தனுப்பியிருக்கிறோம். ஏழைக்குடியாயிருக்கிற எங்களைக் காப்பாத்தி ரட்சிக்க வேண்டியது. சலாம்.

— S. D. P.

NOTES

Considerable loss and destruction of documents in Nanchinad must have resulted from the frequent invasions of the Vijayanagar kings, the Nayks of Madura and the Travancore kings in the 16th—18th centuries A. D. Some of these invasions are referred to in a

few of the Mudaliar documents published in Vol. V, Pt. 3 (1927) of the Travancore Archaeological Series, and summarised in the Travancore State Manual (1906), Vol. I, pp. 302, 303, and 316—24. Loss of documents is referred to in the Vadasseri stone inscription dated 4—4—873 M. E. thus:

"மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடிவரை ஓலைப்பெட்டிகளும் சீட்டிகுறிகளும் பொய்ப்போகையில்............ .. படைக்கிலாகிலும் கவர்ச்செயிலும் போய முறிவகையா(கி)லும் காரணகாரியமெங்கிலும்" — T. A. S. V, p. 211, lines 14—16, and 21—24.

There is another reference to such loss or destruction of documents in the extract dated 894 M. E. from T. A. S. V, p. 219 printed on p. 29 *ante*, col. 2.

The havoc done by those invasions may account for the fact that among the Mudaliar MSS. there are only very few anterior to the 16th century A. D. The frequent satyagrahic emigrations of the Nanchinadians from their home must have also resulted in loss of documents. One such emigration to Aramboly in 832 M. E. (1656—7) is mentioned in Document 4. Other emigrations are referred to in many of the documents mentioned in the next section.

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The following are some of the invasions of Nanchinad referred to in the Mudaliar MSS.

1. Tirumalai Nayk's invasion a short time before Kar (Kanni or September crop) season of 810 M. E. "திருமலைநாய்க்கர் படை கொண்டு வந்த எதுவாய் எண்ணூற்று ஒருபதாமாண்டு கார் தரிசு விழுந்து" — (Neettu of 22—7—810).

2. Nayk's invasions from 852 M. E. 'நம்முடைய நாடு அாறுமஉ ளுல முதல் கிளக்கேஇருந்து படையும் வினையும் வந்தபடியினுலெயும்" — (Resolution dated 1—3—878).

These invasions are referred to in a stone inscription at Vadasseri dated 4—4—873 M. E. and in a copy of it on stone at Idalakkudi thus:—

"நாயகரிடெபடை வந்து நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் அாறுமஉ ளுல முதல் பலநாளும் படை வந்து படைக்கேடு வருகைகொண்டு". These, and later ones if any, are again referred to in another Mudaliar ola dated 14—5—889 M. E. in the following extract: "நம்முடைய நாட்டிலே பலபடப் பலபட அரயனைக்குதிரையும் இராணுவும் வந்தி அழிச்சதினுலெயும்...... நாடு அறவே நொந்து கெட்டுப் போயிருக்கவே".

3. Invasions every year from 882 M. E. are mentioned in a Mudaliar ola of 15—10—894 M. E. (அா) "அமஉ ளுல முதல் ஆண்டுதோறுங் குதிரையுங் படையும் வந்து .... ,சீனிவாசரா்கு இங்நாட்டில் ஆடுமாடும் நிரை சாய்ச்சு.......... , பெற்று ரெட்டியென் நாள்தோறும் நாட்டிலே மாடுநிரை சாய்ச்சு .... , அனந்தோசி நயக்கர் தென்மீதி. காட்டிலே நூல்தாலியும் பறிச்சு பெண்ணும்பிள்ளைநாதுகளுமறுத்து மாடுநிரை சாய்ச்சு.........கொண்டுபோனபடியினுலெயும்". Some of these might have been raids by soldiers sent by the Travancore king himself to collect tax by force.

For Anantoji's see Document 6.

4. An army "from the east" in 896 M. E is mentioned in a Mudaliar ola of 26-7-896. 'கிழக்கேநிந்நும் வந்த இராணுவும் குதிரையும் சேவுகம் ஒழிச்சு கிழக்கே அயக்கையும் செய்து". This army is said to have been relieved of its duty and sent back to "the east", i e. to the Tamil country beyond the eastern borders of Travancore. The services of this contingent from the east were probably utilised by the Travancore king for collecting tax from Nanchinad.

5. An invasion of Nanchinad shortly before the Pisanam (February) harvest of 898 M. E. by a Nayk army under Appayyan is referred to in document 7 *ante*.

This Appayyan is, of course, not the same as Ramappayyan who, according to different MSS. of the Malayam-Tamil song *Iravikkuttippillai Por*, invaded Nanchinad in 810 or 820 M. E., after the Pisanam (second) harvest. According to the above song Ramappayyan's invasion was occasioned by the failure of Velayyan's, which must have taken place early in 810 or '20. Invasion No. 1 above took place early in 810 M. E.

The reading of the date is as follows in one MS. of the song.

வாட்டமற்ற கொல்ல மெண்ணூற் றிருபதா மாண்டுதனில்
ஆனநேர் மிதுனமாதம் பதினெட்டாம் தியதி திங்கள்படி புனர்தம் திங்களாழ்ச விடியும்முன்னே
வெற்றனவெ வெல்லுமந்தச் சேரமான் படயும் கூட்டி.

A variant of this reading is கொல்லம் எண்ணூற் றிருபதாம் (820 M. E.)

[The languge of the above song, like that of Ramacharitam assigned to an earlier century, is not Malayalam although some hold that it is. It is a *patois* of Tamil.]

6. An army under Sivasaila Mudaliar collected tax from the Nanchinadians by force in 897 M. E. after the February harvest as stated in a Mudaliar ola of 16—4—898 M. E.

"தொருவசனங்களும் சிவசைல முதலியாரும் குதிரையும் இராணுவும் வந்து நெருங்கி வேண்டினபடியினாலெயும்" The next year armies under Mutthuppillai and Chittampalam Pandaram troubled the people very much as stated in the same record. "முத்துப்பிள்ளையும் குதிரையும் இராணுவும் தெரிசரங்கோப்பிலே வந்திருந்து". இரண்டுவகை நாடும் கடுக்கரையிலே குடிவாங்கியிருக்க முத்துப்பிள்ளையும் சிற்றம்பலம் பண்டாரமும் நூறு சேவுகருமாயி வந்து எங்களை வளைஞ்சு பிடிச்சு அடிச்சு பணம் வைப்பிக்க வருகையில் நாங்கள் பயந்து மலை கரையேறிப் போனபடியினாலெ".

7. An army from the east invaded Nanchinad in 899 M. E., shortly before the February harvest. "கிழக்குநின்னும் இராணுவுங் குதிரையும் வந்து .....பாளையமுஞ்செயிது இருந்நு நாஞ்சிநாட்டிலே மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடிவரை தளிசங்கேதம் உள்பட கருமக்கேடு வருககொண்டு" — (Mudaliar ola dated 20—11—899 M. E.)

8. Another invasion from the east under Alagappa Mudaliar in 900 M. E. "கிழக்குநின்னும் அரமனையார்வகை இராணுவும் குதிரையும் கொண்டு அழகப்பன் முதலி கூா ஒரு தை மீ இருபத்திரண்டாந் தெயிதிமுதல் வைகாசி மீ உய௫ வ வரை ....பாளயம்செயிது படை தொருக்கொண்டும் நாஞ்சிநாட்டில் ...படை வருககொண்டு" — (Mudaliar ola).

— T. K. Joseph.

Colonel Munro*

(By Rao Sahib Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyer, M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S.)

Addressing the past and present students of His Highness the Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, twenty-seven years ago, the Marquess of Curzon said that Travancore 'is a very patriotic State' and that 'every good Travancorean thinks that there is no place like Travancore.' This, indeed, is a shrewd and accurate observation, and the people of Travancore are truly proud of their country—of its guardian Deity, Sripadmanabha, of its ancient lineage of distinguished sovereigns, of its unique immunity from subjugation by any alien power, and of its early and ever-steady alliance with the British nation. Travancore is deeply conscious of the debt she owes to the glorious galaxy of Britishers under whose guidance it has been possible for her to reach her present eminence, and in respect of none is that consciousness deeper than two towering personalities among them, one English and the other Scotch, whose statues deserve to decorate the streets of Trivandrum along with that of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao—the Marquess of Cornwallis who saved her from the jaws of the tiger of Mysore, and Colonel John Munro, who in his combined capacity of Resident and Dewan brought peace and prosperity to her and started her on the road to progressive government. Munro, as being directly connected with the State, is more widely known among the masses, who even today, in a spirit of involuntary veneration, trace the origin of everything good in the country to his golden age. Munro Sahib is beyond doubt a household name in Travancore—and also in Cochin, and the perfume of his memory pervades the atmosphere of both these countries.

Young John Munro came to India in 1791 and soon became a captain of the Madras Army. Early in 1810 Colonel Colin Macaulay, the first political Resident in Travancore, who proved himself unfit to hold that position by more than one hasty and injudicious act, applied to the Madras Government for retirement, and the eyes of the Governor, Sir George Barlow, opportunely fell on Munro, who had risen to the rank of Quartermaster-General of the army by that time. A. Falconer, the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, in informing Munro of his appointment as Resident in Travancore on the 23rd March 1810, wrote: "The nature of the past transactions and the existing state of affairs in that quarter render the situation of the Resident in the Court of Travancore in a high degree important, difficult and delicate, and His Lordship in Council is satisfied that, in selecting an officer possessing all the requisite qualifications for an office so arduous, he fully provides for the public interests in confiding his trust to you."

An incident occurred while Munro was Quartermaster General of the Army in Madras, which exhibits in bold relief his courageous devotion to duty and scrupulous adherence to truth. As a measure of retrenchment, Sir John Craddock, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, thought it desirable to abolish the tent contract, an arrangement by which officers commanding native corps received a permanent monthly allowance, alike in peace and war, on condition of their providing the men under them with

* A paper read before the Kerala Society on 31—8—1928.

suitable camp-equipage whenever required. On the Commander consulting Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, the latter strongly advocated the change and reported as to how it might be best brought about. In his minute Munro stated: "By granting the same allowances in peace and war for the equipment of Native Corps, while the expenses incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding Native Corps in direct opposition to one another: it makes it their interest that the corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties." Lieutenant General Hay Macdowall, who succeeded Sir John as Commander, resented this observation which, in his opinion, amounted to an attack on the character of military officers, and, on the eve of his departure from Madras, placed Munro under arrest to be brought to trial by the succeeding Commander-in-Chief. As soon as Munro became aware of this, he appealed to the Madras Government, under whose authority he had acted and by whom the measures recommended by him had been adopted. Sir George Barlow thereupon ordered his release. General Macdowall, while obeying the instructions of the Government, issued an order condemning Munro for disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief, for disobedience of orders and for contempt of military authority. This provoked a counter-order from the Madras Government, who were bound to shield the Quarter-master-General from the revenge of the Commander-in-Chief. In informing the Court of Directors of this incident the Madras Government reported: "It is proper to state to your honourable court that Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, the Quarter-master general of the army, is an officer of great merit and talents. He has, for a long period of time, filled the principal military staff situations at the presidency: and it is probable that his reports on various subjects of military arrangements will have attracted your observation, from the degree of perspicuity and ability by which they are distinguished. It is on the suggestion of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro that a great part of the improvements lately effected in our military establishment have originated, and we are justified in stating to your honourable court, that we consider the services of that officer to have been of the greatest value and importance." [1] All authorities including the Government of Bengal and the Court of Directors were agreed that General Macdowall's order was illegal, and the Duke of Wellington, in the midst of his onerous preoccupations in the Peninsular war in Europe, observed: "Not only ought he (Colonel Munro) not to have been brought to a court-martial for giving that opinion, but he ought to have been brought to a court-martial if he had refrained from giving it when he was called upon by the Commander-in Chief to make him a report on the subject referred to his official consideration." [2]. This episode and its aftermath closed only in 1810, and this probably accounts for the fact of Munro's assuming charge of his appointment as Resident in Travancore only in October 1810, though he was appointed in March.

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Since I read this paper before the Kerala Society, Sir Alaxander Cardew has published his book. "The White Mutiny" to which

1. The Asiatic Register for 1809, p. 216.
2. Mill and Wilson's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 214.

the reader's attention is invited for further details concerning this incident. Munro submitted his report on the tent contract system on the 30th June, 1807. His recommendation for the abolition of the system was accepted by Sir John Craddock and agreed to both by the Government of Madras and the Governor-General in Council. Munro's report was a confidential document; but somehow or other it leaked out and became public property. Cardew observes that Munro was an unpopular figure, because, although his regimental rank was only that of a captain he had been promoted as Quartermaster-General over the heads of several of his seniors in service. Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, who subsequently commanded the expeditionary force which quelled the inssurection of Velu Thampi Dalawa, was one of the 28 officers who protested against Munro's report on the 25th September 1808. Much acrimonious correspondence passed between the Covernment of Madras and General Macdowall, and eventually the General was removed from office on the 31st January, 1809. This and certain consequential events gave rise to the Mutiny of the European Army against the Government of Madras in 1809, which ended in the surrender of the Fort of Seringapatam on the 23rd August that year.

Sir Alaxander aptly remarks: 'The Government intervention on behalf of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro was undertaken to save an innocent man from a malicious prosecution. It was forced on the Government by the infatuated proceedings of General Macdowall and few unbiassed judges would hold that in the circumstances it was not justified.'

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On reaching Travancore in October 1810, Munro found Maharaja Balarama Varma, a weak ruler, on the masnad, overshadowed by Ummini Tampi, who had been appointed Dewan on the 15th March 1809. He saw that the country was in a state of hopeless anarchy. The expenses incurred by the military operations of the Madras Government consequent on the insurrection of Velu Tampi Dalawa and Paliattu Valiya Achan amounted to Rs. 15,99,000, of which Travancore was required to pay two-thirds and Cochin the remaining one-third. No efforts were put forth to effect any economy or retrenchment in public expenditure to enable Travancore to pay this heavy debt, while even the annual subsidy due to the East India Company had fallen into arrears. Ummini Tampi could suggest no measures for tiding over the crisis and the immediate interference of the Parmount Power was becoming increasingly imperative. Fortunately for the country, Balarama Varma died at this juncture on the 7th November 1810, within one month of Munro's arrival, and the first question that the Resident was called upon to settle was succession to the masnad.

Two princesses, Bharani Tirunal and Attam Tirunal, had been adopted by Raja Rama Varma in 1789 from the Kolattunad family which had migrated to Mavelikkara in Central Travancore, and Bharani Tirunal had given birth to two daughters Ayilyam Tirunal Gauri Lakshmi Bayi and Utrattati Tirunal Gauri Parvati Bayi in 1791 and 1801, respectively, who were the Senior and the Junior Ranis of Attingal at the time. One of the conditions on which the independent territory of Attingal was allowed to be merged in Travancore under the 'silver plate treaty' of about 1730 was that the succession to the Travancore masnad should descend to the offspring of the Ranis of Attingal, in

strict accordance with precedent, and the Resident found that, in the absence of a male heir, Lakshmi Bayi, as the Senior Rani of Attingal, was entitled to succeed to the masnad until the birth of such an heir. Her title, however, was challenged by a young Raja of the Mavelikkara family, Visakham Tirunal Kerala Varma Raja who was one of the boon companions of Balarama Varma. Though he was not adopted into the ruling family, he was by courtesy styled Elaya Raja (yuvaraja, young or junior prince) by the deceased ruler, and Rani Lakshmi Bayi used to call him "annan" or elder brother. This "Elaya Raja" left no stone unturned to prevail upon the Rani to pass the masnad on to him, but did not succeed in his efforts owing to her remarkable resoluteness. Colonel Munro, after holding the needed enquiry, had no hesitation in declaring that Lakshmi Bayi, by whose great intelligence and capacity he was struck, was the legitimate heir to the masnad—an opinion in which the Madras Government and the Court of Directors concurred,[3] and the Rani thereupon became the ruler of the State assuming the titles of Sirpadmanabhasevini, Vanchidharmavardhini and Rajarajesvari. At the installation, addressing Colonel Munro as 'Etrayum Bahumanapetta Saippe' or 'very esteemed sahib' she said: "I had not expected even in my dreams that I would be called upon ever in my life to assume a masnad which had been most worthily and deservedly occupied by my ancestors from time immemorial and latterly supported and protected under the auspices of the Honorable East India Company. My uncle, who has just been received from this world to a better one by divine will was only twenty-nine years of age, and, if such had not been the will of Sripadmanabhaswami, my uncle could have held the sceptre for a greater length of time like my grand-uncle who departed to Heaven in the year 973 M.E., but since it has been the will and command of my house-hold Deity, I am ready to obey, but being a young woman quite unprepared and unqualified for such a high and responsible position, I cannot do better than to place myself under the guidance and support of the Honorable East India Company, whose bosom had been an asylum for the protection of an infant like Travancore since the time Sripadmanabhaswami had effected an alliance with such a respectable Company of the European nation. To you, Colonel, I entrust everything connected with my country, and from this day I look upon you as my elder brother and so I need say no more." In all correspondence with Colonel Munro Lakshmi Bayi addressed him as "നമ്മുടെ സഹോദരരെപ്പോലെ, മാനിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന മഹാരാജമാന്യരാജശ്രീ കർണ്ണൽസായ്‌പ് അവർകൾക്കു", i. e. as one whom she regarded as her own brother. This practice was followed by Rani Parvati Bayi, her younger sister and successor on the masnad, who extended a similar courtesy to the Residents who succeeded Munro.

3. See Document I appended.

The first step taken by Lakshmi Bayi, after ascending the masnad, was to get rid of Ummini Tampi, Dewan. In one of her letters to the Resident dated the 15th April 1811 she wrote: "Formerly certain seditious persons excited disorders and troubles and were even guilty of great embezzlements and injustice. They are endeavouring at present to pursue the same seditious course of measures......The removal of these apprehensions, and of the highly improper thingswhich have created them, depends upon the power and protection of English gentlemen alone. As I consider the gentlemen of the Company in the light of parents, and myself as their daughter, I have committed my cares and

my services to them, and expect the comfort and happiness of myself and my country from their justice and protection only. If the Company do not protect and assist me, who will protect and assist me? * * *

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As I am a woman, it is not becoming to write more; but I earnestly trust that my wishes may be taken into serious consideration, and that the present Dewan may be removed from office". * * * *

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Munro was convinced that Ummini Tampi 'was particularly obnoxious to the Rani and his continuance in office would therefore be unfavourable to the attainment of that close and cordial union between the States' which he considered it desirable to establish. With the approval of the Madras Government, Munro wrote to Ummini Tampi to say that " as there did not appear in the judgment of the British Government and of Her Highness the Rani to be any occasion at present for the office of Dewan, he was relieved from the duties of that situation" and assumed direct charge of the administration on the 18th Edavam 986 (June 1811) at the special request of the Rani. Munro himself, in the course of the evidence tendered by him before Parliament on the 27th March 1832, in referring to this incident, stated: " The treaty authorised the general interference of the British Government; but I assumed the charge of the administration at the express request of the Raja, with the authority of the British Government." As a matter of fact there was no person in the country qualified to undertake the management of affairs, and the alternative that presented itself to the British Government was either to assume the entire administration of affairs, or to permit the Resident, as a temporary arrangement, to hold the office of Dewan to the Rani. The latter, of course, was the more agreeable course, and it was suggested and emphasised by the Rani herself who wrote to the Colonel that "there was no person in Travancore that she wished to elevate to the office of Dewan and that her own wishes were that the Resident should superintend the affairs of the country as she had a degree of confidence in his justice, judgment and integrity, which she could not place in the conduct of any other person", and that " she regarded the Resident as her brother and was convinced that the Resident would always act for the good of herself and her people."

Ummini Tampi could hardly put up with his altered lot He prevailed upon Valiyasarvadhikaryakar Mallan Pillai, a relation of his, to prefer to the Madras Government certain charges against the Resident.

That Government turned a deaf ear to those allegations, and ordered the removal of the Dewan to Quilon, where he was interned and kept under surveillance. On the 17th Dhanu 987 (December 1811) the Rani insisted upon his incarceration, but this was not done.

On the night of the 24th May 1812 a conspiracy, having for its object the destruction of the European Officers and men of the subsidiary force stationed at Quilon, was brought to the knowledge of Adjutant Cox, 2nd Battalion, 14th Regiment, by Jamedar Ayyalu of the same battalion, to whom it had been revealed by a private of his company. On the morning of the 25th, Colonel Hamilton Hall who commanded the force, and the officers in command of the several battalions met at the Residency and it was arranged that a general parade of the troops should be held in the afternoon, and that

the chief conspirators should then be seized, while the Resident, who was at the spot, should take steps for the apprehension of those outside the army who were believed to be implicated in the plot. At the parade Jamedar Shaik Hussain of the 14th regiment, together with 2 Havildars and 22 men of the same regiment, were called out of the ranks and placed in confinement. Several religious mendicants and others who had joined in the plot were seized by Munro's agents. Shaik Hussain and private Salabat Khan were summarily tried and blown from the gun on the 28th May, while two Havildars, one Naik, and 26 privates of the 14th regiment, of whom 19 were Mahomedans and 10 Hindus, were tried by court-martial and sentenced to death. Of these, two privates were eventually pardoned, while the rest were either shot or hanged, the sentences being carried out at Quilon, Cannanore Seringapatam, Trichinopoly, Vellore and St. Thomas Mount. The result of the enquiries held by Munro showed that the conspiracy was organised by local malcontents in company with Sheik Hussain. The army records of the period [4] speak of a 'Pseudo-Pychy Rajah," (Pazhassi Raja of Kottayam in North Malabar), and the design was to confer the sovereignty of Travancore upon the Raja, Sheik Hussain being promised the Dewanship. It had also been given out that the pay of all the sepoys who joined the plot would be raised to Rs. 10 per mensem The chief conspirators consisted of discharged Sepoys, fakirs and certain disaffected Travancoreans. The European Officers were to be attacked while at dinner and the barracks to be set fire to at the same time to divert attention, after which the public treasury was to be plundered.

4. Wilson's History of the Madras Army, Vol. II p 190.

But the whole affair ended in a fiasco, and there were no more insurrections in the country either during the administration of Colonel Munro or at any time thereafter.

The very first matter that engaged the attention of Colonel Munro on assuming the office of Dewan was to thoroughly overhaul the machinery of the administration which was till then being maintained on a quasi-feudal basis. During the time of Raja RamaVarma, there were two Divisional Officers known as Valiya Sarvadhikaryakars under the Dewan, of the Vadakkemukham and the Tekkemukham (Northern & Southern Divisions) each of whom had four Sub-divisional officers or Sarvadhikaryakars under him. Each of these latter again had as his subordinates four Karyakars, who presided over the work of Proverticars, Chantiracars and Toracars. The number of Mukhams (Divisions) was raised to three at a later date; Under an efficient ruler and his able ministers this rough and ready arrangement worked extremely well. The troops, according to Fra. Bartolomeo were "always marching up and down through the country to enforce the collection of the taxes and to preserve peace and tranquillity. Public security is again restored throughout the whole country; robbery and murder are no longer heard of; no one has occasion to be afraid of on the highways; religious worship is never interrupted; and people may rest assured that on every occasion justice will be speedily administered." He again says in another connection that "the Raja has only to command, and his orders are executed with the utmost punctuality. His ministers neither can nor dare have recourse to such subterfuges as those of the European courts. An oath from the King, a small twig suspended at the door in his name or mere confinement at one's own house is a check upon the conduct of

the minister, as well as upon that of the other subjects." Some portion of the success of Dewan Raja Kesava Das as a soldier, financier and administrator can be traced to this organisation, to which he imparted further tone and efficiency.

Munro thus describes the situation as he found it on his arrival: "The country is divided into three principal Mukhams or divisions each of which is governed by an officer called Valia Sarvadhikariakar. Every principal Mukham is divided into 3 or 4 Subordinate Mukhams which are managed by officers called Sarvadhikariakars. The subordinate Mukhams are divided into a certain number of inferior districts termed Mandapathumvathils, and managed by Kariakars. Each Mandapathumvathil contains from 7 to 10 smaller divisions called Provertis which are superintended by officers called Proverticars in some parts of the country and Adhicaris in others. Every Proverthi is subdivided into Desoms or Muries under officers called Moolackars. A Desom contains from 50 to 400 inhabitants and is again formed into smaller divisions under the directions of officers whose names vary very much. Thus from the Dewan to the Superintendent of a few houses, there is a regular and complete succession of authorities, subordinate in the strictest manner to their respective superiors, exercising all the powers of Government, for they were charged with the assessment of the people, the collection of the revenues, the administration of justice, the punishment of offenders, the command of the militia and the defence of the country. No form of Government could be more calculated to obtain a complete command over the persons and property of the people, or more fitted for the purpose of oppression and of war." The Karyakars formed the back-bone of this system. They were fiscal, magisterial, judicial and military officers rolled into one, who exercised their multifarious functions in professed, but not real, subordination to the chief authorities of the State. Munro further observes: "The strict gradation of authority established among the karigars, and the entire command which they possessed over the services of the people, contributed to perpetuate military feelings in the country, and to facilitate the means of commotion and insurrection. They were, in fact, at once military and civil governors exercising absolute power in their districts. The investiture of their office was given by the Rajah with a sword, and this weapon, together with the ensigns of their office, was carefully displayed wherever they appeared. The unlimited powers exercised by the karigars were peculiarly liable to abuse in their capacity of revenue servants. In absolute governments the conduct of the revenue servants required generally to be observed with more jealousy and vigilance than that of the other public functionaries. The constant and authoritative intercourse which they have with the people, touching their property and interests, gives them an influence, which, if strengthened by the power of a magistrate or judge, will assuredly be perverted by the natives of India to purposes of corruption and injustice. The authority of the karigars enabled them to prosecute the system of rapine, fraud and coercion, which I have described, and it was essential to the purity of the revenue administration of the country, that they should be divested of the magisterial functions which they possessed.

The gradations of rank among the karigars opposed considerable obstacles to the efficient execution of their duties. An order disagreeable to the karigars was seldom

enforced; it was sent from the wallee-survad-dykarigars with a private intimation to disobey it, and it was conveyed from the karigars to the proworteecars with a similar request. If called to account, these officers asserted that they had transmitted the order, and laid the blame of disobedience on their inferiors, and it was difficult to examine 200 or 300 proworteecars. But any order favourable to the feelings or wishes of the karigars was carried into effect with the promptitude of military obedience. In fact, responsibility could not be fixed; they had a kind of military constitution, without the laws, sanction and discipline which prevent it from degenerating into anarchy and misrule." And again: "No description can produce an adequate impression of the tyranny, corruption and abuses of this system, full of activity and energy in every thing mischievous, oppressive and infamous but slow and dilatory to effect any purpose of humanity, mercy and justice. This body of public officers, united with each other on fixed principles of combination and mutual support, resented a complaint against one of their number as an attack upon the whole. Their pay was very small, and never issued from the treasury, but supplied from several authorised exactions made by themselves. They offered, on receiving their appointments, large nuzzers to the Rajah, and had afterwards to make presents, on days of public solemnity, that exceeded the half of their pay. They realised, in the course of two or three years, large sums of money, and were generally subjected to a complete confiscation of their property for the benefit of the state. The Rajah therefore, imposed no restraint on their rapacity, aware that their plunder would be transferred to his own treasury. Nor does it appear that this consideration had any effect in checking their extortions; they calculated upon being able to conceal their property during their lives, and felt little concern as to the mode of its disposal on their death. On the part of the people, complaint was useless, redress hopeless; they had only one remedy, and that was bribery. This practice was universal, and it was one of the melancholy circumstances in the situation of the people, that one of the greatest evils was necessarily resorted to as a good, to mitigate the still more intolerable grievances of injustice and oppression. Innocence was protected, justice obtained, and rights secured by bribes. These were also a still more efficacious means of injury, and their universal use produced an extraordinary spirit of avarice in the country; for every man endeavoured to have a secret hoard of money, as the best protection of his liberty, property and life. Attached to the karigars there was a regular gradation of accountants who managed the revenue accounts, and in general surpassed even the karigars themselves in extortion and plunder."

"There is scarcely a single public servant in the country", he notes, "who has not occasionally employed the public money for his own use." In his evidence before Parliament he further states: "Bribery and extortion prevailed in all parts; every officer of the Government had the authority to impose fines on the people at his pleasure. The property of the inhabitants was considered to belong to the Raja on their death, and was only redeemed by very oppressive fines." The Dewan and all the officers subordinate to him were empowered to impose fines at their pleasure (വാക്കാൽ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം, Va:kka:l pra:yas'chittam) for offences of all descriptions, and 20 per cent. of the

amount of such fines was divided between the Dewan and the officers who imposed the fine, the balance alone being credited to the exchequer. Succession or purushantaram tax was a levy of 25 per cent. upon inheritance of property of all descriptions. Of this impost also, 20 per cent. could be legitimately appropriated by the Dewan and the Officers concerned. Dewan Nanu Pillai, in his unpublished Sketch of the Progress of Travancore observes: "Agreeably to the practice for some years, nearly the whole amount of the tax was absorbed by the minister and other public servants. A practice also prevailed of overestimating the value of the property entrusted; and the heir was frequently obliged to sacrifice a half or two-thirds of his inheritance to the rapacity of Sirkar servants."

In Raja Rama Varma's time, the transactions of the State resulted in an annual surplus of about 5 lakhs of rupees, one-half of which was never applied even for meeting extraordinary expenses, but deposited in the exchequer and never touched except in cases of the utmost necessity. This exchequer, in the course of a few years, had become one "where extortion was the assessor, fraud the cashier, confusion the accountant, concealment the reporter and oblivion the remembrancer." Money was freely borrowed from private individuals without any intention of repayment, and when the lenders demanded either principal or interest they were thrown into prison.

Rani Lakshmi Bayi's womanly heart went out against such iniquitous imposts, and at her very first interview with Munro as Dewan, she suggested the wholesale abolition of the purushantaram (succession) tax and the modification of the system of imposing fines. In this connection it may be observed that Lakshmi Bayi was the first to break through the time-honoured custom of receiving Europeans in audience outside the Fort for fear of pollution, to meet them at the Fort Palace, to remove the purdah, and to speak to them openly on public affairs. Colonel Munro gradually abolished the offices of Valiya Sarvadhikaryakar and Sarvadhikaryakar.[5] The Karyakars were deprived of all authority (civil and criminal) over the people and reduced to the position of revenue subordinates pure and simple. The very designation of Karyakar was changed into Tahsildar. This change is thus described by Munro. "A Karigar under the title of Tahsildar has been retained at the head of every mundaputwasil ordistrict with an accountant denominated sumpreddy Pillah, and having a certain number of Proworteecars under him. This plan admits of no evasion in complying with orders, and the duties of Tahsildars, being confined to the collection of the land revenue, are executed with more efficiency. The influence of names is considerable and the discontinuance of the title of Karigars will be attended with advantage". Thus the separation of the Revenue Department from the judiciary was secured by Munro for Travancore with commendable courage. The Court of Directors did not look upon such radical reforms with favour. They were apprehensive that the reduction of the Status of the Karyakars by depriving them of their magisterial and judicial functions would have the effect of rendering that large body of officers disaffected to the British Government. They were also of opinion that an attempt to assimilate the judicial and revenue

5. Valiya Sarvadhikaryakkars were first dispensed with and the State divided into 9 Mukhams over which Sarvadhikaryakkars were appointed.

systems of Travancore to those of British India would not suit the habits of Travancoreans to whom the ancient and simple forms of administration to which they were accustomed would be naturally more agreeable than what they called "the artificial and operose proceedings of regular courts of law." By the time their despatch on the subject dated the 10th August 1814 reached Travancore, the new reform had been brought into thorough working order.

Munro abolished the purushantaram tax altogether and ordered that no subordinate should impose any fine without his knowledge. Numerous other petty and oppressive taxes were also abolished, such as the poll-tax, cottage-tax and net-tax under which Ezhavas, Parayas, Mukkuvas and other classes similarly situated suffered. Forced labour was done away with and it was ordered that the people should in no instances be required to serve or make supplies to the State on terms cheaper than what they might demand from private individuals.

The arrears under land revenue were found to be as high as 20 lakhs of rupees, the bulk of which represented the un-recovered balance of the rupee tax (ഉറുപ്യവരി) imposed by Raja Kesava Das, at the rate of one rupee per each parah of wet land, and also upon every merchant and holder of property who was not a cultivator. Munro says that upwards of 30 lakhs of rupees were collected on what he calls this "extravagant impost"; but evidently he made no calculation of the terrible expenses that this State had to bear at that time in the construction of Nedumkotta (Travancore lines), in the mobilisation of her resources against Tippoo Sultan, in the magnificent succour she afforded to the refugees from Malabar and Cochin, thereby earning the imperishable name of Dharmarajya, and last but not least the direct and indirect contributions she had to make to the East India Company in connection with the third Mysore War. The rupee tax was no doubt an extraordinary, but not an 'extravagant' impost, in view of the issues at stake. [6] Adam Smith has laid down the dictum of 'defence before opulence', and Kesava Pillai, as financier, was guided by the same principle. The remaining balance was mostly made up of amounts which had been realised but not brought into account. "The ryots" says Munro, "being almost universally unable to read or write depended upon the accountants for a knowledge of their annual rents and balances, and seldom obtained receipts for their payments". In the evidence which he gave before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the 20th March 1832, Munro stated that the system of the revenue management of Travancore was so exceedingly defective, and the revenue accountants so very corrupt that large balances of land revenue stood almost always in the accounts although on examination it was found that the ryots had generally paid up their dues with punctuality. All these heavy arrears were remitted with the sanction of the Rani, and this generous act of the Government evoked the grateful appreciation of the people. The State had, for purposes of its own, a land register called the

6. The Rupee tax appears to have been imposed by Tippu Sultan himself in Malabar, about which the following humourous Malayalam sloka has come down to us :—

"ഉറുപ്യം വത്ര രചലസിസ്ഥപനംട്ടിലെന്ന
ഉറുപ്യംയതില്ലതിന്ന ദൻപ്യ വരിക്കവന്ന്
'ഉറുപ്യായതാം 'തപടി തിയെന്ന പറഞ്ഞതത്യ്-
ഉറുപ്യംയത്ര നരകമസ്സു നമായനാംമ്മേ"

Ayacut, but the land-holders never knew what amount they had to pay. With a view to remedy this evil, Munro arranged for the issue of "pattas" to them, specifying the extent of the holding, its tenure and the Sirkar demand, and arranged for the compilation of an up-to-date land-register. When crops such as sugar-cane, sesamum, pea and grain were grown on that land, a vexatious method of levying additional tax was in vogue. This practice was abolished and a declaration was made to the effect that the Sirkar was not entitled to any more share of the profits of cultivation than the amount of revenue imposed thereon. [7] Munro also put an end to the practice of granting remissions of land revenue as a matter of course, for which he observed that "with reference to the low rates at which it was fixed and to the regularity of the seasons in Travancore, no just pretence could exist." In Nanjanad, however, where the rainfall was low, the old arrangement was allowed to continue and the principle was affirmed that when lands had to be left uncultivated owing to causes beyond the ryot's control, he was entitled to relief. [8] Many other reforms such as the grant of rewards for the destruction of wild animals, and payment of compensation to land-owners for trees felled from their lands for Sirkar purposes were also introduced. The Colonel even went the length of laying down a rule to the effect that no tree should be felled by any ryot without obtaining the sanction of the Sirkar and without promising to grow five trees in its place. A revenue survey and settlement were also undertaken, the settlement being confined to garden lands.

The Huzur Cutcherry, which had been three-quarters of a century old when Munro assumed office, was thoroughly reorganised. The Financial Department was separated from the Huzur and invested with the functions of maintaining a correct account of all the receipts and disbursements, of examining and checking the expenditure of subordinate officers, and of preparing reports on the resources and expenditure of the State. The posts of a Superintendent and a Deputy Superintendent of Finances were created, and Munro ordered that no payments should be made from the treasury without due authority and sanction, that bills for all payments with the exception of a few fixed charges should be prepared in the Finance Department, certified by the signature of the Superintendent and the Deputy Superintendent and countersigned by himself and that no disbursements should be made from the treasury except on the authority of such bills. The Superintendent of Finances was required to submit fortnightly reports to the Rani showing the receipts and disbursements of the State, as also the amounts paid and the balance due to the Company. The numerous treasuries in the State were abolished, and it was ordered that the entire collections of the State should be eventually remitted into the Huzur treasury and disbursements made only from that treasury excepting certain fixed and urgent charges which could be met from the provincial collections (പിരിഞ്ഞ വകയിൽ നിന്ന ചെലവ്). In cases of doubt the Superintendent of the Huzur treasury had the right to refuse payment of a bill even though it bore the

7. Land Revenue Manual, Vol. V. p. 209.

8. In a letter from Rani Parvati Bayi to Colonel Munro dated 24-10-985 it is stated:

"ഇതിന്മണ്ണം രാജീകം ദൈവീകം ആയിട്ട കൃഷിക്ക പിഴവന്നാൽ സംശയം കൂടാതെ കുടിയാനവന്മാൎക്ക വെണ്ടുന്ന ഒത്താശകൾ ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കേണ്ടതു തന്നെ".

certificate of the financial superintendent countersigned by the Resident, and to ask for further instructions. A jamabandi committee was also organised. Every possible loophole for leakage of revenue was thus effectively closed.

The Huzur Office was also remodelled on up-to-date lines. Munro ordered that all letters to the Huzur Cutcherry should be addressed to the Resident and that the orders issued therefrom should go in his name and bear his signature. The monthly cost of this office, which amounted to more than Rs. 6000 when Munro arrived in Travancore, was reduced to Rs 1500 after he assumed charge of the administration, mainly as a result of the abolition of the post of Dewan. A staff selection Board [9] was created with beneficial results.

Pepper, tobacco and other State monopolies next engaged his attention. From a letter of Rani Lakshmi Bayi to Colonel Munro dated the 6th Karkadakam 986 (A. D. 1811) it is seen that the expenses of the Palace and the religious and charitable institutions were met from land revenue and the other expenses under subsidy, army, &c., from the State monopolies and other receipts. Under the system of monopolies in vogue the Raja, as observed by Munro, was the general merchant of the country and the royal commerce destroyed its prosperity Customs houses were in existence at every eighth or tenth mile and duties were exacted upon the transit of goods at every one of those stations. Both land and sea customs were farmed to the highest bidder and the grossest forms of abuse and oppression prevailed. Munro abolished the system of farming, and reduced the duties substantially. A limited number of customs houses was established and placed under the direct control of Government officers.

Munro himself frequently toured round and put down every form of corruption on the part of public servants with a rigorous, almost relentless, hand. Wherever he encamped he assembled the chief men of the locality and enquired into the conduct of local officers. If on enquiry he was satisfied that any of them was guilty of corruption or oppression, a severe corporal punishment was forthwith inflicted on him in public, the Colonel himself often handling the cat-o-nine tails in an effective manner. The officers so punished were not dismissed from service, but allowed to rise in it in a spirt of meekness and contrition, with visible marks of reformation on their back, and it has been recorded that several officers both in Travancore and Cochin became sadder and wiser men under this arrangement, bringing future credit to both themselves and the service.

The exclusive sales of pepper, tobacco and salt alone were reserved by the Government under such regulations as were beneficial to the people while productive of additional revenue to the State. The price paid to pepper growers, which stood at Rs. 15 per candy of 500 lbs. when Munro assumed charge of the administration, was raised to double that amount. "The finest pepper in the world" observed Munro "grows on the Malabar coast" and it was left to Sir Madhava Rao to abolish this monopoly in the interest of the people at a later date.

Munro, considered it desirable to retain the monopoly of tobacco as it was an article of luxury and as it formed one of the prominent sources of the State's revenue at the time. The Jaffna tobacco, then as now, was preferred by the people, and about 2000

9. Document II.

candies of that variety of tobacco per annum were being imported into the country, as also 2500 candies of Tinnevelly and 1500 candies of Coimbatore tobacco. When Ceylon was brought under British subjection in 1808, Travancore was guaranteed a monopoly in the supply of Jaffna tobacco from the profits of which, according to Lieutenant Colonel William Colebrooke, who gave evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, the subsidiary force in Travancore was maintained. [10]

A sufficient quantity of salt for about six months' consumption was manufactured in the country, while the rest was imported from Bombay, a substantial portion being also brought by Arab ships from the Persian Gulf. The salt monopoly was placed on an improved footing, the retail price of the commodity being reduced. [11]

After the insurrection of 1809, there was no regular army in the State. Munro organised two battalions of Nayar sepoys and one company of cavalry as "body-guard and escort to Royalty" and appointed European officers to be in command of the force. The expenditure under militia which was Rs. 544000 in 1807-08 went down to Rs. 44000 in 1812-13. The police duties, which had till then been discharged by the military, were entrusted to a separate police corps, independent of both the Judicial and Revenue Departments and working directly under the orders of the head of the administration. The duty of police Derogahs and Tanna Naiks consisted in the prevention and suppression of offences, in the investigation of crimes and in charging culprits before duly constituted courts.

10. Affairs of the East India Company. Vol III, p, 247.

11. Document III is the oath administered to salt officers on assumption of charge.

Munro found that practically there was no administration of justice in the country though the Hindu law was the law of the land and no other law was admissible, the arbitrary will of the karyakars being invariaably suffered to override it. He organised a court of appeal and five Zillah Courts, which were subsequently increased to eight, for the trial of offences and for the adjudication of civil claims. [12] The appeal court was stationed at Trivandrum and presided over by the Dewan, assisted by three judges. The Zillah Courts were each manned by two Judges assisted by a pandit. A Huzur Court was also established for the trial and punishment of Sirkar servants. [13]

Judicial officers were selected from among Nayars, Brahmans, and Syrian Christians. From a report of 1818 it is seen that the "Judges had liberal salaries, and their proceedings were to be regulated according to Hindu Shasters and usages, and such fixed rules (not inconsistent with the Shasters) as the Rajah might prescribe and the nomination of the Christian Judges was received with satisfaction by Brahmans and Nayars." It is also seen that "the people received the courts with marked demonstrations of satisfaction and joy and crowded to them for justice with an impatience proportionate to the delays and vexations which they had hitherto experienced in seeking it. The courts had given security of person and property, and confidence to the mass of the people. The Raja lost a cause to one of his subjects to the amount of 30,000 rupees, which was immediately paid. Great crimes, before frequent, had almost ceased." A chattavariola consisting of 34 sections was issued for the guidance of courts, the details of

12. See Document IV.

13. See Document V.

which may be learnt from Sankunni Menon's History of Travancore.

Law's delays were greatly regretted by Munro and he attributed them to the multiplicity of causes. In March 1817, Sirkar vakils known as 'pandaravaka vakils' were appointed both in the Huzur court and Zillah courts under the direct orders of the Government. Their duties comprised the conduct of criminal cases and Sirkar cases relating to revenue matters, as well as cases against Sirkar officers. They were directed to collect the necessary evidence for the proper prosecution of Sirkar cases and secure speedy disposal of justice. When cases were needlessly protracted the indignation of the Colonel knew no bounds, and he did not hesitate to impose severe fines on the Judges.

As regards the collection of taxes the procedure enunciated is described by Munro as follows: "The rents are generally so very low that they are readily paid by the people on their accounts being settled. But in cases of delay or contumacy, the Tahsildar makes an application to the police officer of the District, who immediately imprisons the defaulter. If he resists the validity of the demand, the police officer is required to report the circumstance immediately to the Dewan, who either calls on the Tahsildar for an explanation or desires the matter to be referred to the Courts. If the ryot should acknowledge the justice of the demand, and refuse to satisfy it, he is transferred after a few days' confinement to the Sirkar Vakil at the court, who institutes a process for the recovery of the arrears, by a sale of his property. This mode, though apparently slow and circuitous, was necessary to counteract the tendency to the former system, which was that of violence and precipitate justice." Trials by ordeal were abolished except in the case of Malayala Brahmans at Suchindram which was put a stop to at a later date by Sir Madhava Rao.

It would take me far afield to go fully into the question of the assumption of Devaswoms by Colonel Munro. There is no doubt that this was by far the most important of the measures of the Colonel. and there is also no doubt that it was actuated as much by political as by purely administrative considerations. The vast accumulation of wealth and property in the hands of Devaswom authorities was a standing menace to the tranquillity of the State. The important Devaswom synods were so many Alsatias in the country, and afforded a safe asylum to malcontents and law-breakers. The synods themselves exercised judicial and executive functions over the Sanketham lands owned by them, setting at naught the authority of the sovereign, who himself failed to escape punishment for transgressing their rules. The existence of such sacrosanct and superstrong forces in the country was a Damocles' sword over the throne, and Dewan Velu Tampi, with that desperate daring so characteristic of him, was the first to contemplate the annexation of those institutions to the Sirkar. Munro found, according to the report of 1818 already quoted, that the revenues of the pagodas had been diverted from their proper uses, and that even the images had been stolen in many instances by the managing authorities. 348 major and 1171 minor Devaswoms were accordingly assumed. On the 18th Thulam 987 (A. D. 1811), Munro appointed a Committee of ten persons, 6 of whom were officials and 4 non-officials, to examine and report on the conditions of the Devaswoms and to fix a 'pativu' for expenditure. The

order [14] stated that the condition of the Devaswoms had been a source of anxiety to the Government for a long time past, as they were not amenable to the control of the Sirkar, which led to much mismanagement, fraud and malpractice, resulting in serious loss of revenue to the institutions, and that on that account the landed properties of the Devaswoms had been recently annexed to the State and the taulk officers entrusted with the management of the affairs relating to them, and that far from the Sirkar entertaining the idea of curtailing the 'pativus' of any of those institutions, it was its desire to arrange for the several ceremonies being better conducted than before, as well as for the necessary repairs to the temple buildings being attended to and the institutions properly cared for. As a result of this arrangement, the Devaswom charges, which amounted Rs. 280200 in 1807-08, rose to Rs. 496600 in 1812-13, there being of course a corresponding increase on the revenue side of the account as well. In 1817 Rani Parvati Bayi wrote to the Madras Government about the extremely satisfactory manner in which the reorganisation of Devaswoms was working in the State, and the Madras Government stated in reply that it gave them great pleasure to read that letter. [15]

The Syrian Christians of both Travancore and Cochin owe a great deal to the beneficence of the Colonel. Want of space precludes me from entering into a detailed description of his activities in that direction. Dr. Hough says that "from his first arrival in Travancore he afforded the most decided protection to all classes of Christians and particularly to the Syrians." It was through his exertions that the seminary at Kottayam was established "for the education of the clergy and the Syrian youth in general." At his instance Rani Parvati Bayi presented a site for the college and a sum of Rs. 8000, and also at a later date a sum of Rs. 20000 and the island of Munro at Kallada. The building of the Seminary was commenced in 1813 and completed within a year. The Church Mission and the London Mission Societies also received substantial help and encouragement at his hands.

In 1811 Munro obtained the sanction of the Rani for the provision of bridges and jungars for crossing certain rivers and channels. He also constructed the Residencies at Trivandrum and Quilon. In the same year he made arrangements for starting a pearl fishery at Cape Comorin and introduced improved methods of manufacturing salt, opened several new markets and appointed Cotwals to be in charge of them. [16] He was also responsible for the establishment of Sirkar vernacular schools in Central and North Travancore.

By a Proclamation of 1812 the purchase and sale of slaves other than those attached to the soil were strictly prohibited and all transgressors were declared liable to confiscation of property and banishment from the country. This measure was introduced in pursuance of Lord Brougham's Act which was passed in 1811 in England, abolishing slavery in British Dominions. The abolition of praedial slavery was carried out only in 1855—43 years later. Munro was responsible for the appointment of a Commercial Agent at Alleppey. He also introduced a system of stamped cadjans for the registration of assurances.

14. See Document VI.

15. See Document VII.

16. See Document VIII.

In fact there was not a single department which the energetic Colonel did not touch and in the touching did not adorn. Notwithstanding the abolition of numerous imposts the revenue of the State steadily increased. In 1812—13 the second year of his regime the revenue rose from Rs. 28½ lakhs to 34 lakhs, and the expenditure from 28 lakhs to Rs. 33, 90000, leaving a balance of about Rs. 25000. Looking back on the activities of previous years Munro wrote in 1818: "The result of all these arrangements has not disappointed any expectations. In the course of my proceedings, the relief of the people and the benefit of the State were equally studied and pursued. Concessions were made gradually, and in proportion to the improvement of other resources; and a progressive augmentation of revenue has taken place. In consequence of the abolition of a number of harrassing and burdensome imposts, the revenues have been reduced to five or six heads, moderate in their application to the people and susceptible of increase with the growing prosperity of the country." The details of revenue for 1817—18 are shown below:—

Land Revenue	...	15, 00, 000
Customs	...	2, 30, 000
Tobacco	...	11, 00, 000
Pepper	...	3, 00, 000
Salt	...	2, 30, 000
Timber	...	1, 50, 000
Extraordinaries	...	2, 00, 000

Of these land revenue rose from Rs. 400000, salt from Rs. 30000, timber from Rs. 50000, and tobacco from 5 lakhs in the days of Ummini Tampi.

More laudable than even the success of his work in the State either as head of the administration or as Resident were his brotherly attachment towards the Rani and his anxious solicitude for the welfare of the ruling family. Personally he was not in favour of undertaking the duties of the Dewan in addition to that of Resident and his sole object in doing so was to save the State from financial embarrassment and the resultant political annihilation. To the question put to him by the Select Committe of the House of Commons as to whether Travancore would be better managed indirectly through a Dewan or directly by a Resident, he gave the following straight answer: "While the native States retain possession of the Government of their territories it would be highly inexpedient that the Resident should take charge of the administration; it is only in a case of great exigency that it would be necessary for the Resident to assume the direct management of affairs", and in reply to a supplementary question, added that the appointment of the Resident to be in charge of the administration "would excite extreme jealousy, and involve in fact, the subversion of the independence of a State". The special considerations which induced him to take charge of the administration in Travancore have been clearly explained by himself and they are worthy of reproduction. "I know no person in the country" he said "qualified for the situation of Dewan, and the history of the transactions in Travancore for the last ten years would not admit of my placing much confidence in the conduct of any Dewan that might be nominated to office, for of two Dewans appointed by the British influence during that period of time, one was guilty of open rebellion against its authority and the other of numerous instances of mismanagement and oppression. It appears to be desirable that

the office of Dewan should be agreeable to the wishes of Her Highness the Rani and of the people. I had the best reasons for knowing that the measure would be highly acceptable to Her Highness, and to a great majority of the people; and its adoption was further recommended by a variety of considerations drawn from the past history and actual situation of Travancore. The situation of the country, full of abuses, would be ameliorated, the attachment of the people secured, and future commotions prevented by the justice, moderation and humanity of an authority possessing the confidence of the Rani and acting under the immediate direction of the British Government". His assumption of charge as Dewan, though sanctioned by the Madras and Bengal Governments, was eventually disapproved by the Court of Directors, but by the time their despatch reached him in 1814, he had relinquished charge and Devan Padmanabhan had been appointed Dewan. Devan Padmanabhan was in due course succeeded by Subba Iyen Sankaranarayana Iyen, Raman Menon and Venkata Rao *alias* Reddi Rao respectively, but all these four Dewans with varying degrees of capacity drew their inspiration from and were profited by the advice given, the influence exerted, the example set, and even the fear infused by the Resident. With him work was its own reward. He not only claimed no remuneration, but refused to accept it when offered by Rani Parvati Bayi at the time of his retirement in January 1819. He did not utilise the services of even a single peon in the Huzur Cutcherry and felt satisfied with his peons in the Residency. This speaks volumes for the lofty standard of official morality which the Colonel set to himself at an age when even European Governors of Provinces were prosecuted and punished for open bribery.

As for Rani Lakshmi Bayi, she really looked up to Colonel Munro as an elder brother. In a letter dated 20th Tulam 987 (A. D. 1811) we find her stating that she has placed implicit reliance on him in respect of every matter, that neither in hapiness nor in misfortune has she any Karanavans (uncles) whom she may approach and that she has regarded the Colonel alone as equal to her Karanavans.[17] In another letter the Rani states that in connection with the Tirumasam festival of her deceased uncle, Rama Sastri of Arumukhamangalam in the Tinnevelly District has composed a few verses and that those verses are so beautiful that the Colonel should also hear them for which she is sending the Sastri to the Colonel.[18] In a third letter dated the 3rd Edavam 987 (A. D. 1812) she says that the Colonel has come to the country under the divine grace of Sripadmanabha and that it is her constant prayer that the Colonel's fame and prosperity should increase. In two letters dated the 11th Chingom 988, one to Colonel Munro and the other to Mrs. Muuro, the Rani earnestly requests them to receive the present of a cloth each on the Tiruvonam day, as it is the birthday of Sripadmanabha and as the cloth is his present.[19]

Colonel Munro was as anxious as, if no more than, the Rani herself that she should be blessed with a male issue for the prepetuation of the ruling line before he left the State, and curiously enough, when the Rani was *en ceinte* he made an offering to Sripadmanabha that if the issue was a male, he would place a valuable silk-umbrella at the feet of the Lord. The issue was a male and

17. See Document IX.
18. See Document X.
19. See Documents XI and XII.

the offering was made. Soon after this happy event, a white elephant was caught in the Travancore mountains to the intense joy of the Rani and her subjects. This incident is prominently referred to in a letter of the Rani to the Resident dated the 14th Edavam 988. It was settled that the little baby should forthwith be proclaimed the ruler of the State, and upon this the Rani again wrote to the Colonel another loving letter [20] pointing out that even from the days of her grand-uncles, the conviction had been deep-rooted that there were none in the world with the sense of justice, equity and good conscience of the Honourable East India Company. On the following day which was the 1st January 1814, Her Highness decided that there should be a dinner for the European residents in Trivandrum and wrote another touching letter [21] to Colonel to Munro on the subject. A sixth letter [22] dated the 9th Karkadagam 990 (A. D. 1815), from Rani Parvati Bayi on hearing that Lord Moira was awarded the title of Marquess of Hastings is also worthy of perusal.

Colonel Munro thought that the Rani was possessed of great natural intelligence and used to refer to her as "ബുദ്ധിശാലി" (budhi. sali). [23] The historian, Sankunni Menon, is perfectly correct when he says that though many of the regulations and rules were promulgated at the instance of the Resident himself, there were several important measures which originated direct from Her Highness herself and were highly applauded by him. There were occasions when the Rani did not agree with, but had even to find fault with the Colonel. For instance when the Colonel requested that the members of the families of Vadakkumkur and Chempakasseri should be allowed to change their places of residence, Her Highness stoutly opposed the proposal and ordered that they should continue to remain where her grand-uncle had stationed them. When she saw a tendency on the part of officers not to make arrangements for the Tirumasam ceremony of Balarama Varma in as grand a scale as for that of his predecessor, she observed that such delay could not be tolerated and that the ceremony should be celebrated exactly on the scale of the previous one. On the occasion, when she heard of a rumour regarding some attempt on the part of the Colonel to interfere with her domestic amenities, she wrote that she was the ruler of the State and that her wishes based on precedents must and would prevail. [24] To this the Colonel replied that the rumour originated from mischief-makers and that such an idea was far from his mind. On another occasion when the Colonel proposed to assign, for tobacco cultivation to a German, certain lands in North Travancore which had been gifted away by Raja Rama Varma in favour of certain Nambutiri Brahmans by way of a religious offering, Her Highness stated that the proposal could not be sanctioned. The Colonel welcomed the decisive views of the Rani on all matters, since he knew that those views were based on stout common sense, rooted upon close acquaintance with precedent and formulated on a

20. See Document XIII.

21. See Document XIV.

22. See Document XV.

23. The live and limpid diplomatic Malayalam of those days was not prudish enough to insist on the use of the term ബുദ്ധിശാലിനി the feminine form of the word.

24. ഈ കാൎയ്യം ഇടപെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളത് കീഴ്മൎയ്യാദയും നമ്മുടെ മനസ്സുംപോലെ അല്ലാതെ മറ്റൊരു പ്രകാരത്തിൽ നടക്കുന്നതല്ലല്ലൊ.

careful consideration of the pros and cons of each case. The Colonel whole-heartedly participated in her joys and sorrows, and helped her in the performance of various religious functions with as much devotion as one of her own Hindu subjects. When on a particular occasion a star of some evil portent made its appearance in the sky, the Colonel himself applied for the loan of a manuscript from the Palace library to the Chief of Edapalli, who was a great authority on such matters, to find out what it exactly signified and how its influence might be averted. As soon as the Company's debts were cleared, he addressed himself to the renovation of temples and palaces, anticipating Her Highness's wishes in the matter. No wonder that a person who could foresee the inclinations of the Madras Government on the one hand and of Her Highness on the other should have been able to command the esteem of both.

It has been already stated that heavy arrears under subsidy and war-debt were due to the Company and that it was primarily to relieve Travancore of this burden that Colonel Munro assumed direct charge of the administration. These obligations were fully discharged by the joint exertions of the Rani and the Colonel by the end of 1813. The palace expenses which amounted to Rs. 2,78,800 in 1807-08, were brought down to Rs. 1,16,400 or to 41 per cent. in 1812-13, and at every turn Her Highness used to remind the Colonel of the early discharge of the debt. As soon as it was done, the levy of a fine of one fanam per pagoda which used to be realised from the salaries of Sirkar servants was discontinued and the payment made in full, and when, as stated before, Devan Padmanabhan, a native of Travancore and judge of the Appeal Court, was appointed Dewan, no one felt happier than the Colonel himself. Munro has written about this incident as follows: "I certainly was not induced to take charge of the office of Dewan by any prospect of facility in the execution of its duties, for I saw that they would be laborious, arduous and difficult. The principle of my proceedings was to conciliate both the Rajah and the people, and this could be accomplished only by conferring benefits on them. To please the Rajah, it was necessary that his authority, dignity and revenues should be maintained uaimpaired, and especially that the burdens of the country should be speedily removed; and to please the people, it was requisite that the oppressions, the onerous imposts and the ruinous monopolies under which they laboured should be abolished. measures which would of course decrease the revenues and the means of paying the debt. I however cherished a hope, that by a system of activity, order and justice, I might succeed in accomplishing those objects, apparently irreconcilable. My expectations were not disappointed: in less than three years, although I encountered far greater difficulties than I had anticipated, I succeeded in paying, besides the current subsidy, debts of 18 lacs of rupees to the Company, and nearly 6 lacs to individuals; in abolishing the most oppressive monopolies and taxes; in getting the affairs of the country on principles of justice and humanity; and I restored the management of the State to a native dewan, delivered from its burdens, with a greatly augmented revenue and in a situation of complete internal tranquillity."

Munro was burdened during the period of his residentship, not only with the direct administration of Travancore but also that of Cochin, where exactly the same political,

administrative and fiscal difficulties prevailed. At the insistent request of the Raja, he assumed the Dewanship of the State in June 1812. As in Travancore, so in Cochin, Munro scrupulously refrained from overriding the authority of the Raja. "No appointment" says Mr. Achyuta Menon "was made by him without the latter's approval, and every detail of his measures was submitted to the Palace for approval or information". To carry the Raja along with him in all his measures appears to have required the exercise of uncommon tact and patience on the part of the Colonel, since, unlike in Travancore, the ruler was short-tempered, weak and vacillating. The same reforms were introduced in Cochin as in Travancore, and in this the Colonel was assisted by Captain Blacker, his brother-in-law, who had been previously employed in the Madras Army and who was appointed Assistant Resident, to be in immediate charge of the affairs of Cochin in 1813. So much were the services of Colonel Munro appreciated by the Raja that he wrote to the Governor General: "Since Colonel Munro was appointed Resident in my country in the year 1811, that gentleman has by his indefatigable exertions and vigilance rescued me from an ocean of debt in which I was unfortunately involved by the corrupt and treacherous conduct of my ministers, and has enabled myself, my family and my subjects now to live happy and unconcerned, which favourable circumstance I cannot in justice avoid bringing to the notice of your Lordship in Council". The Raja was prevailed upon by Munro to appeal to the Governor-General for a reduction of the subsidy. This was done with the result that, owing almost wholly to the exertions of Munro, it was reduced from Rs. 2,76,037 to Rs. 200000. As soon as the Company's debts were cleared Munro retired from the office of Dewan in February 1818, giving place to Najappayya, though he still continued to exercise a beneficent influence on the administration of Cochin, as in Travancore, until he relinquished his Residentship. Mr. Achyuta Menon correctly says: "But for his strenuous and untiring labours for ten long years and his whole-hearted devotion to his self-imposed duty, Travancore and Cochin would, in all probability, have long ago, ceased to be feudatory States". The late Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, in his History of Cochin, is thoroughly justified in finding fault with that State for not having done anything to keep alive the memory of her great British saviour.

Colonel Munro retired from Travancore and embarked for England on the 24th January 1819, much to the regret of Rani Parvati Bayi, the Regent, and her loving and loyal subjects who found in the Colonel one of the greatest of their friends and benefactors. The Rani bore the strongest testimony to the boons conferred by him on Travancore. After some time the Colonel returned to duty in the Madras Army and eventually retired from the service in 1825. In 1832, he gave valuable written and oral evidence before the House of Commons on the affairs of Travancore and Cochin. He lived to a good old age and died on the 26th January 1858. When the news reached India the then Raja, Utram Tirunal Martanda Varma, resolved to perpetuate his memory in some fitting manner and after consulting the wishes of Munro's daughter, sanctioned the putting up of lights to be known by the name of 'Munro lights' for the guidance of travellers. The actual execution of the work fell to his successor Maharaja Sir Rama Varma who wrote

to her as follows: "These lights are sure to prove highly useful and will, it is hoped, testify to the respect with which General Munro is remembered in a manner beneficent to all classes of my subjects. The name of General Munro is held by me in esteem quite as high and sincere as my predecessors".

Colonel Munro held very sound opinions on political matters, and if his lot had been cast in a wider sphere there is no reason why he should not have risen to positions attained by such men as Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Malcolm. As regards subsidiary alliance he thought with Malcolm that they should be considered as having been made with the State as a whole and not with the chiefs and princes alone. He said: "It would seem to be conformable to the designs of providence and to the principles of humanity and true policy that our influence and power should be rendered to the utmost practicable extent conducive to the happiness of those States, including both the sovereigns and their subjects. A system of proceeding founded on the principle that our engagements are contracted with the sovereigns only, without reference to the conduct or welfare of the people, will, there is reason to apprehend, be productive of consequences unsuitable to the benevolent and generous views of the British Government."

As regards the European residents in India he was very particular that their conduct should be satisfactory. He stated: "It is so much to their interest to acquire the respect and confidence of the natives." With regard to European public servants his opinion may be gauged from the following observations: "The cause of the success of the English in India is more to be found, in my opinion, in the ability of their servants abroad, than in the wisdom or the stability of the views and principles of the home Government."

He was decidedly opposed to the annexation of Indian States—a policy to be pursued by the Marquess of Dalhousie at a later date with notoriously disastrous consequences. He stated: "Justice and policy equally dictate the necessity of avoiding every occasion that might lead us to take territorial possession of any of the allied States; for it is of high importance to retain these native governments, on the ground, without reference to other reasons, of their giving situations of trust, emolument and dignity to the natives in general, and especially to the higher classes of them." It will be remembered that this was the considered opinion of his greater contemporary and namesake Sir Thomas Munro also. Finally with almost prophetic vision, he declared: "It appears to be desirable that the Governor-General should cease to be the internal administrator of Bengal and left free to direct his mind to the political and general government of the whole Empire."

He was not hopeful about the success of Panchayats in Travancore: "The natives of Travancore" he was of opinion "want that confidence in each other's probity which is necessary to qualify them for composing or obeying Panchayats. The superior education knowledge, rank and ability of the judges in a court, together with the solemnity of the proceedings awed a native, conscious of having a bad cause into submission; but before a Panchayat, consisting of his equals, he will litigate without bounds. The judicial regulations published on the formation of the courts offered the inhabitants a choice of trial by Panchayat, but their general disinclination to adopt that mode of decision, and its inefficiency in most

cases wherein it was adopted, prevented its extended use and rendered it necessary that suits in general should be tried by the courts." Since his administration, the State has made remarkable strides in education; but there has unfortunately not been the same development in the confidence of the people in each other's probity.

Rani Lakshmi Bayi gave birth to a second son in Chingam 990 (A.D. 1814), and both her sons, known as Svati Tirunal Rama Varma and Utram Tirunal Martanda Varma, ruled the State in succession from 1829 to 1847 and 1847 to 1860. Princess Rukmini Bayi, their elder sister, gave birth to Ayilyam Tirunal Sir Rama Varma and Visakam Tirunal Sir Rama Varma, and they ruled the State from 1860 to 1880 and 1880 to 1885 respectively. Maharaja Srimulam Tirunal Sir Rama Varma who ruled the State from 1885 to 1924 and whose revered memory is still green in the hearts of all of us, was the son of Lakshmi Bayi the daughter of Rukmini Bayi, and hence it may be stated that, until very recently, the masnad was occupied by the direct issue of Lakshmi Rani.

In introducing prince Rama Varma to the audience at the Darbar held on the 29th July 1813 Her Highness said. "As the Honourable East India Company have been acting with justice, it pleased Sripadmanabhaswami to accomplish everything agreeable to their desire. At the instance of my husehold Deity, I have placed this child of mine on the bosom of the Company and the responsibility for the future support and respectable treatment of this royal scion shall now rest with the Honourable Company. What more need I say?" It was this prince, who, true to the traditions of his House, when he was only 16 years of age, astonished S. R. Lushington, Governor of Madras, by the reply to his admonition that the proper method of holding a European's hand was to hold it gently. "Whose hands am I to hold but those of the Honourable East India Company, of which your Excellency is the august representative? I have no other support on earth and I am determined to hold the hands of the only one I have with as much firmess as I can."

The only Divine grace with which Lakshmi Rani was not blessed was long life, and Her Highness died in Kanni 990/1814, to the intense sorrow of both the Colonel and her subjects. Rani Parvati Bayi, though only 13 years of age, conducted herself remarkably well as Regent with the help and advice of Colonel Munro and earned for herself a name as imperishable as that of Lakshmi Bayi. The masnad left vacant by Lakshmi Rani's issue has passed to our own Lakshmi Rani Maharaja "with whom as with her illustrious ancestor all is gracious, gentle, great and queenly".

Raja Sir Madhava Rao has stated that the best form of government in India may be found in Indian States. "There", he says "the Maharaja or the native ruler, ensures stability or permanence. The Dewan or the Prime Minister ensures local and popular knowledge, while he is assisted by a number of practical Native Assistants in immediate contact with the people. The British Resident, under the orders of the Governor or Governor-General, represents the best modern knowledge and the purest of motives of public good. This, I venture to think, is a concentrated combination which is typical of the best form of Government which large Indian territorial tracts are capable of." To this best form of Government Munro contributed in two ways. He was not only an ideal Resident; he was also an ideal Dewan; he wrought the country lasting good and all that Sir Madhava Rao did to secure the proud

appellation of "the Model Indian State" for Travancore was to build upon the foundations so well and truly laid by him. The name and example of Munro can never be effaced from the grateful and affectionate memory of Travancore and Cochin. So far as these two States are concerned, there has been no truer or more appropriate illustration of Tennyson's beautiful lines on the ideal of the British reconstruction of India.

"From out the sunset poured an alien race
Who fitted stone to stone again, and Truth,
Peace, Love, and Justice came and dwelt
therein."

APPENDIX

DOCUMENT I

Proclamation of the Governor-General

ഇന്ത്യാർ നാമാബ്ബനാമെ ആങ്കി

തിരുവിതാങ്കോട്ടു സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലുള്ള സകല ജനങ്ങൾക്കും അറിയിക്കുന്ന വിളംബരംഎന്തെന്നാൽ—

എത്രയും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ബംഗാളത്തു സുപ്രീംഗൌണർമെണ്ടാർ അവർകൾക്കു സദാനേരവും അപേക്ഷ എന്തെന്നാൽ അതാതു രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ പൂർവ്വാപൂർവ്വമായിട്ടു നടന്നുപോരുന്ന മര്യ്യാദകൾക്കു വ്യത്യാസം വരാതേയിരിക്കേണ്ടതുതന്നെ ആകുന്നു.

ഇപ്പോൾ തിരുവിതാങ്കോട്ടു സംസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ മഹാരാജാ അവർകൾ നാടുനീങ്ങിപ്പോയതിന്റെ ശേഷം അനന്തിരസ്ഥാനത്തിനു സംശയം വരികകൊണ്ടു ആ സംശയം വന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു വേണ്ടുംവണ്ണം വിസ്തരിക്കയും ചെയ്തു.

൧-ാമതു വിസ്തരിച്ചതിന്റെ ശേഷം തമ്പുരാട്ടിമാരുടെ സന്തതി അല്ലാതെ ഒള്ളവൎക്കു അവകാശം ഇല്ലാ എന്നു നിശ്ചയം കാണുകയും ചെയ്തു.

൨-ാമതു തമ്പുരാട്ടിമാരെ കൂടാതെ മറ്റു എടുത്തപ്രകാരം കീഴ്നാളിൽ നടന്നിട്ടും ഇല്ലാ.

൩-ാമതു തമ്പുരാട്ടിമാൎക്കു ജനിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പുത്രന്മാൎക്കല്ലാതെ മറെറാരുത്തൎക്കും അവകാശവും ഇല്ലാ.

ഇതുകൂടാതെ കറയക്കാലം മുമ്പേ തിരുവിതാങ്കോട്ടു സംസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ആൺമക്കൾ ഇല്ലാതെ ഇരിക്കകൊണ്ടു അശ്വതി തിരുനാളിൽ പുറന്ന പെൺവഴി രാജാവു രാജ്യഭാരം ഭരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പ്രകാരം കാണപ്പെടുന്നു.

ഇളയ രാജാവായ കേരളവൎമ്മരാജാ അവർകളുടെ അമ്മയ്ക്കു ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലേക്കു തമ്പുരാട്ടി സംബന്ധം ഇല്ലായ്ക കൊണ്ടു മേലെഴുതിയ രാജാവവർകൾക്കു രാജ്യഭാരം കൊടുക്കുന്നതു എത്രയും മര്യ്യാദയ്ക്കു വ്യത്യാസമാകുന്നു. ഇപ്രകാരം വ്യത്യാസമായിട്ടുള്ള മര്യ്യാദ ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലേക്കും ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലുള്ള പ്രജകൾക്കും വ്യത്യാസം തന്നെ ആകുന്നു.

ഇക്കാര്യ്യാദികൾ കൊണ്ടു നിശ്ചയമായിട്ടു കാണപ്പെടുന്നതു എന്തെന്നാൽ മൂത്തതമ്പുരാട്ടി അവർകൾക്കു തന്നെ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലേക്കു അവകാശം ആകുന്നു.

തമ്പുരാട്ടിമാൎക്കു പുത്രന്മാർ ഉണ്ടാകുവോളത്തിനും മേലെഴുതിയ മൂത്തതമ്പുരാട്ടി അവർകൾക്കു തന്നെ അവകാശം ആകുന്നു. തമ്പുരാട്ടിമാൎക്കു പുത്രന്മാർ ഉണ്ടായാൽ പിന്നെ ആ പുത്രന്മാൎക്കാകുന്നു അവകാശം.

ആയതുകൊണ്ടു സക്കാർ ഇങ്കിരീസ് കുമ്പിണി ബഹദർ അവർകളുടെ കല്പനയും പരസ്യമാക്കുന്നതു എന്തെന്നാൽ-ആററങ്ങൽ മൂപ്പിൽ ലക്ഷ്മി അമ്മ എന്ന വലിയ തമ്പുരാട്ടി അവർകൾക്കു തന്നെ രാജ്യഭാരം നിശ്ചയിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ആയതുകൊണ്ടു ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും കുടിയാന്മാരും മററും എപ്പേർപ്പെട്ട പ്രജകളും അവരവരുടെ ഉദ്യോഗത്തോടുകൂടി മേലെഴുതിയ മൂത്തതമ്പുരാട്ടിഅവർകളുടെ കല്പനയനുസരിച്ചു നടന്നു കൊള്ളുകയും വേണം.

മററും പരസ്യമായി അറിയേണ്ടതു എന്തെന്നാൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കമ്പണി സക്കാരോടു പൂൎവ്വാപൂൎവ്വമായിട്ടുള്ള സ്നേഹം വിചാരിച്ചു ഈ രാജ്യം ആയവരുതന്നെ ഭരിക്കാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം നിശ്ചയിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു.

പിന്നെയും അറിയിക്കുന്നതു എന്തെന്നാൽ ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ മുമ്പിനാലെ നടന്നു പോരുന്ന ധൎമ്മം മുതലായിട്ടുള്ളതുകൾ ഒക്കെയും മുമ്പിലത്തെ മൎയ്യാദപ്രകാരം തന്നെ നടക്കുകയും ചെയ്യും.

എടപാടു മുതലായിട്ടു കാൎയ്യങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും അവരവരുടെ നേരുപോലെയും ഞായം പോലെയും സമ്മതം പോലെയും നടക്കയും ചെയ്യും.
൯൮൬ വൃശ്ചികം.

DOCUMENT II

Instructions to the Staff Selection Board.

കാജെന്ന ജീശഖാൻ, ദേവൻ പത്മനാഭൻ, നഞ്ചപ്പയ്യൻ, ശങ്കരനാരായണപിള്ള, പരപ്പൂട്ടിപിള്ള, ചിതമ്പരംപിള്ള ഇവൎക്കു.

എന്തെന്നാൽ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾ വിചാരിക്കേണ്ടുന്നതിനു നല്ല നേരും വിശ്വാസവും യോഗ്യതയും ഉള്ള ആളുകളെ ആക്കേണ്ടുന്നതു ആവശ്യമായിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ ഉദ്യോഗക്കാറരെ വളരെ പേരെ മാററിയിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും അവൎക്കു പകരം ആളു നിശ്ചയിക്കേണ്ടുന്ന ആവശ്യമായിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും നിങ്ങൾ വിചാരണ ചെയ്തു നേരും വിശ്വാസവും യോഗ്യതയും ഉള്ളവനായും ഗ്രഹസ്ഥനായും പണ്ടാരകാൎയ്യത്തിനു രാപകൽ പ്രയാസപ്പെട്ടു നടക്കുന്നവനായും ഉള്ള ആളുകളെ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു നമുക്കു എഴുതി ബോധിപ്പിച്ചു കൊള്ളണം. ഇനിമേലും ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കു ആളു നിശ്ചയിക്കുന്നതിനു നിങ്ങൾക്കു എഴുതി അതിന്മണ്ണം നിങ്ങൾ ശിപാൎശചെയ്യുന്നവരെ ആക്കുക എന്നല്ലാതെ മുറയ്ക്കു സാധനം എഴുതിവരുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം ഒരു ഉദ്യോഗവും ആക്കുക എന്നു വച്ചിട്ടില്ലാഴികകൊണ്ടു നിങ്ങൾ ആൾ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു ആക്കുന്നതിൽ ഒരുത്തരെങ്കിലും അയോഗ്യനെന്നും പണ്ടാരവക കാൎയ്യത്തിനു കൊള്ളരുതാത്തവനെന്നും വന്നു എന്നു വരാതെ മേലെഴുതിയ പ്രകാരം നേരും വിശ്വാസവും ത്രാണിയും യോഗ്യതയും ഗതിയും ഉള്ളവരെ ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു ശിപാൎശ ചെയ്തു കൊള്ളുകയും വേണം. ആയതിന്മണ്ണം അല്ലാതെ ഈ വകയിൽ ഒന്നെങ്കിലും മേലെഴുതിയപ്രകാരമല്ലാതെ വ്യത്യാസം വന്നാൽ അതു നിമിത്തം നിങ്ങളോടു വളരെ കോപത്തിനിടവരികയും ചെയ്യും. ആയതു മനസ്സിൽ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടു വിചാരിച്ചു ഉദ്യോഗങ്ങൾക്കു ആൾ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു നമ്മെ ബോധിപ്പിച്ചു കൊള്ളണം.
൯൮൭ വൃശ്ചികം ൬൹-.

കൎണ്ണൽ മൺറോ

DOCUMENT III

Oath administered to Salt Officers.

ഈശ്വരസന്നിധാനത്തിങ്കൽ നിന്ന പ്രസിദ്ധമായിട്ട സത്യം ചെയ്യുന്ന സത്യവാചകം എന്തെന്നാൽ—തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു ഉപ്പിട്ടുവിക്കും സ്ഥലത്തു ഉപ്പുവിചാരിപ്പിന എന്നെ കല്പിച്ചാക്കിയിരിക്കകൊണ്ട പണ്ടാരകാര്യത്തിന വീഴ്ചയും കുറവും വരാതെ മേലെഴുതിയ സ്ഥലത്തിൽ ഉപ്പു അളവേററ വിററ മുതൽ ചെയ്യുന്ന വകയിൽ വ്യാജവിത്യാസം കൂടാതെ കല്പനപ്രകാരവും ഹുക്കുംനാമാപ്രകാരവും താല്പര്യമായി വിചാരിച്ചു നടന്നു കൊള്ളുകയും ചെയ്യാം. കല്പിച്ചു തരുന്ന ശമ്പളം കൂടാതെ പണ്ടാരവക മുതലുകൾ വല്ലതും എടുത്തു പററുക എങ്കിലും കയ്ക്കൂലി സമ്മാനം മുതലായ വല്ലതും വാങ്ങുക എങ്കിലും വാങ്ങിക്ക എങ്കിലും ഉപ്പു വിററ മുതൽ ചെയ്യുന്ന കാര്യത്തിൽ വല്ല വ്യാജവിത്യാസം കാട്ടുക എങ്കിലും ചെയ്കയും ഇല്ലാ. ഇപ്രകാരം സത്യം ചെയ്യുന്നു. ഇതിന ഈശ്വരൻ സാക്ഷി.

൯൱൮ മിഥുനം ൩൰-

DOCUMENT IV

Neetu to Zilla Judges.

അനന്തസുബ്ബയ്യർ ലോകനാഥശാസ്ത്രി അയ്യാസ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രി ഇവൎക്ക.

കോർട്ടുസംഗതിക്കായി നാം വിളംബരം ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം മാവേലിക്കര കോർട്ടിന നിങ്ങളെ നിശ്ചയിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നതുകൊണ്ട നിങ്ങൾ അവിടെ ചെന്ന പാൎത്തു ന്യായകാര്യങ്ങൾ എന്തെല്ലാം ഉണ്ടൊ അതൊക്കെയും വശത്താക്കികൊണ്ട ആ കാര്യങ്ങളെ നല്ലവണ്ണംപോലെ വിചാരിച്ചു നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വേണം. ആ സ്ഥലത്തു കോർട്ടുകാര്യങ്ങൾ വിചാരണ ചെയ്യുന്നതിൽ മുഖദാക്ഷിണ്യവും പക്ഷാപക്ഷവും വിചാരിക്കാതെ ഗതിയുള്ളവനും ഗതിയില്ലാത്തവനും ഒന്നുപോലെ എന്നു വിചാരിച്ചു ന്യായംപോലെ ഒക്കെയും കേട്ടു തീൎത്തുകൊള്ളണം. നിങ്ങൾ വിസ്തരിച്ചു തീർപ്പു ചെയ്യുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും സകലപേൎക്കും സമ്മതമായും സന്തോഷമായും ഇരിക്കണമെന്നു നാം പ്രാൎത്ഥിക്കുന്നു. രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ നടക്കുന്നതിൽ ന്യായമെന്നുള്ള കാര്യം എത്രയും പ്രധാനമായിട്ടുള്ളതാകകൊണ്ട ആയതിന ഒട്ടും വ്യത്യാസംകൂടാതെ നടത്തിച്ചാൽ അതുകൊണ്ട പ്രജകൾക്ക ഒക്കെയും ഉറപ്പും സന്തോഷവും ഉണ്ടായി രാജ്യവും സുഭിക്ഷമായിരിക്കുന്നതാകകൊണ്ട മേലെഴുതിയപ്രകാരം ന്യായത്തിന ഭേദം വരാതെയും സകലമാനപേൎക്കും സന്തോഷം വരുവാൻ തക്കവണ്ണവും വിചാരിച്ചുകൊള്ളണം. ഇതിൽ ചില വ്യത്യാസം വരുത്തിയാൽ അതു നിമിത്തം രാജ്യവും നശിച്ചു കുടികൾക്ക ദാരിദ്രവും ഭവിച്ചു അതിനാൽ മാനക്കേടും ഉള്ളതാകകൊണ്ട ആയതിന ഇടവരുത്താതെ മേലെഴുതിയ പ്രകാരം ന്യായം പ്രധാനമായിട്ടുതന്നെ വിചാരിച്ചു പക്ഷാപക്ഷം കൂടാതെ നടത്തിക്കണമെന്നു നമ്മുടെ അപേക്ഷ ആകുന്നു. കൊട്ടുക്കൽ വാങ്ങൽ കാര്യങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും അവരവരിടെ ജാതിമൎയ്യാദപോലെ തീർപ്പുചെയ്തു നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളണം. വെട്ടും കുത്തും അടിപിടി മററുമുള്ള അന്യായകാര്യങ്ങൾക്കും വിളമ്പരം ചെയ്തിരിക്കകൊണ്ട അപ്രകാരം ഒക്കെയും

നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വേണം. ഈ വകക്കു നിങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടുന്ന റാണാക്കാറരെയും ഡബേദാരെയും കണക്കപ്പിള്ളകളെയും നാം നിശ്ചയിച്ചു നിങ്ങളുടെ കൂടെ അയക്കുന്നു. അതിനു ഏതെങ്കിലും തക്കം സംശയം ഉണ്ടായാൽ ആയവസ്ഥ നമുക്കു എഴുതി ബോധിപ്പിച്ചാൽ ഉത്തരവു വരുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം നടന്നുകൊള്ളുണം. കൊട്ടക്കൽ വാങ്ങൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട കടംവായ്പ്പു കാര്യങ്ങൾ കേട്ടുതീർന്നാൽ പണ്ടാരവകക്കു കോയിമ്മക്കാഴ്ച വാങ്ങി വരിക മാമൂൽ പതിവുണ്ടാകകൊണ്ടും ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരുവകാശംപോലും ആ വകക്കു വാങ്ങിക്കരുതെന്നു നാം ചട്ടം നിശ്ചയിക്കകൊണ്ടും അതിന്മണ്ണം അല്ലാതെ കോയിമ്മകാഴ്ച വാങ്ങിക്കുന്നതിനു ഉത്തരവു തന്നിട്ടും ഇല്ലാ.

ൻവ്യ കന്നി ഫവ്യനു-

കർണ്ണൽമൺറോ

DOCUMENT V

Neettu to Judges of the Appeal Court.

ദേവൻ പത്മനാഭനും തൊപ്പാശാസ്ത്രിയർക്കും അണ്ണാസ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രിയർക്കും നമ്പൂരിക്കും.

കോട്ടുകാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു നാം വിളമ്പരം ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം നിങ്ങളെ ഹജൂർ കോട്ടിൽ നിശ്ചയ്ച് ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു. കോട്ടിനു നിശ്ചയ്ച് ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്ന വിളമ്പര പ്രകാരം സകല കോട്ടുകളിലും ദൃഷ്ടിവച്ചു അവരു നടത്തുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങൾ വിചാരിച്ചുകൊള്ളുണം. മേലും ഹജൂരിൽ വരപ്പെട്ട സങ്കടങ്ങളും വിചാരണ ചെയ്തുകൊള്ളുണം. ഈ കാര്യം എത്രയും വലിയ കാര്യം ഉള്ളതാകകൊണ്ടു ആയതു ഏതുപ്രകാരമെന്നാൽ സകല ദേശത്തിന്റെ ന്യായകാര്യങ്ങളും ന്യായങ്ങളും വിസ്തരിക്കുന്നതു നിങ്ങടെ വശമായിരിക്കുന്നതിനാലെ ഈ കാര്യത്തിങ്കൽ പ്രയാസപ്പെട്ടു നല്ലതിന്മണ്ണം വിചാരിച്ചു നടന്നുകൊള്ളുണം. അപ്രകാരം ഒട്ടും വ്യത്യാസം വരാതെ ന്യായപ്രകാരം വിചാരിച്ചു നടന്നുകൊണ്ടാൽ ഇപ്പോൾ ഇരിക്കുന്ന മഹാരാജാ അവർകൾക്കും മേൽ വരപ്പെട്ട മഹാരാജാ അവർകൾക്കും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കമ്പനിക്കും ഈശ്വരനും സമ്മതമായിരിക്കയും ചെയ്യും.

ൻവ്യ കന്നി വമ്പനു-

കർണ്ണൽമൺറോ

DOCUMENT VI

ദേവസ്വം കാര്യം ബഹുനാളായിട്ടു നമ്മുടെ മനസ്സിൽ വിചാരമായിരിക്കുന്നു. അതു എന്തുകൊണ്ടെന്നാൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തുള്ള ദേവസ്വങ്ങൾക്കു യാതൊരു ചട്ടവും വച്ചിട്ടില്ലാ. ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ പണ്ടാര ഉത്തരവു നടക്കാതെ അതു പ്രത്യേകം ഒരു അധികാരമായി നടന്നു വന്നിരുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ യാതൊരു അന്വേഷണവും സൂക്ഷ്മവുമില്ലാത്ത കാരണത്താൽ വ്യാജങ്ങളും വ്യത്യാസങ്ങളും കുടിശ്ശികയും ചുമതലയും ക്ഷേത്രം പണികഴിപ്പിക്കാതെയും തിരുവാഭരണം മുതലായതു വ്യാജവും വ്യത്യാസവുമായിട്ടും നടന്നു വരുന്നു. അതു കാരണമായിട്ടു ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ ഉള്ള നിലവും പുരയിടവും അതാതു മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതുക്കലുകളിൽ ചേർത്തു ദേവസ്വം കാര്യം മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽ കാര്യക്കാരന്മാരു വിചാരി

ച്ചുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം നാം ഉത്തരവു കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇപ്രകാരം ചട്ടം കെട്ടുകയാൽ ദേവസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ നിത്യനിദാനം പൂജ അടിയന്ത്രം മാസവിശേഷം ആട്ടവിശേഷം തിരുവുത്സവം ആദിയായിട്ടു മററുമുള്ള അടിയന്ത്രങ്ങൾ സകലതും മാമൂൽ പ്രകാരം വേണ്ടുംവണ്ണം നടത്തണമെന്നും അല്ലാതെ അതിനായിട്ടു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു വച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പതിവെ കുറച്ചു വയ്ക്കണമെന്നു നമുക്കു യാതൊരു അഭിപ്രായവുമില്ലാ. എന്നാൽ നമ്മുടെ അഭിപ്രായമിരിക്കുന്നതു എന്തെന്നാൽ അതാതു ദേവസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ പതിവായിട്ടു നടന്നുവരുന്ന പൂജ അടിയന്ത്രങ്ങൾ ആദിയായിട്ടുള്ളതൊക്കെയും വേണ്ടുംപ്രകാരം വിശേഷമായി നടക്കണമെന്നും നടത്തിക്കണമെന്നും ദേവസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിലെ പണികളും ചെയ്യിച്ചു വേണ്ടും പ്രകാരം സൂക്ഷിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നുമത്രെ ആകുന്നു.

DOCUMENT VII

മൃന്തറാണി ദേവാലയങ്ങളിൽ ആഘോഷങ്ങളോടും ധർമ്മങ്ങളോടും കൂടി രാജ്യം പരിപാലിക്കുന്നതിനാൽ ഞങ്ങൾ വളരെ സന്തോഷിച്ചു കൊള്ളുന്നു. സദാകാലവും ഇതെ സ്ഥിതിയിൽ മംഗളമായിരിക്കുമെന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. (Translation of a Persian letter).

DOCUMENT VIII

Proclamation *re* Establishment of a market

പത്മനാഭസേവിനി വഞ്ചിധർമ്മവർദ്ധിനി രാജരാജേശ്വരി റാണി പാർവ്വതിബായി മഹാരാജാവു അവർകൾ സകലമാനപേർക്കും പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന വിളംബരം എന്തെന്നാൽ.

തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു പുത്തൻചന്ത നന്താവനത്തിനും വെട്ടുവഴിക്കും വടക്കുവശത്തുള്ള വിളയിൽ ഒരു ചന്ത നിയമിച്ചു തിങ്കളാഴ്ചതോറും ചന്തകൂടി നടത്തിച്ചാൽ കുടിയാനവന്മാർക്കു ഗുണമായിട്ടും കച്ചോടങ്ങൾക്കു നടപ്പായിട്ടും വരുന്നതാകകൊണ്ടു ബാലരാമവർമ്മപുരത്തിനും മേക്കു വിഴിഞ്ഞത്തിനു വടക്കു കലക്കൂട്ടത്തിനും കിഴക്കു നെടുമങ്ങാട്ടിനു തെക്കു ഈ പ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ ചേർന്ന കുടിയാനവന്മാരു കച്ചോടക്കാരു മുതലായിട്ടുള്ള ആളുകൾ മേലെഴുതിയ സ്ഥലത്തിൽ ൯൯൨-ാമാണ്ടു ചിത്തിരമാസം ൧൨൹ തിങ്കളാഴ്ച നാൾ മുതല്ക്കു നെല്ലു അരി ഉൾപ്പെട്ട നവധാന്യവും പാൽ, വെണ്ണ, നെയ്യ്, പഞ്ചസാര ശർക്കരയും നാരങ്ങാപ്പഴം ഉൾപ്പെട്ട പഴവകകളും കാകറി ഉൾപ്പെട്ട പദാർത്ഥങ്ങളും വെഞ്ജനം ഉൾപ്പെട്ടതും ചരക്കുകളും നല്ലെണ്ണ വെളിച്ചെണ്ണ മുതലായ എണ്ണവകകളും പൊൻ വെള്ളി വെങ്കലപാത്രം ഉരുക്കു ഇരുമ്പു മുതലായതും നവനാണയം, നവരത്നം പൊൻവാണിഭം ഉൾപ്പെട്ടവകകളും ജവുളിച്ചരക്കും പാശിക്കടയും നവഭാണ്ഡവും ആടുമാടുമുതലായ നാല്ക്കാലികളും കോഴിയും, മുട്ടയും താറാവും ഓലയും മുളയും മരങ്ങളും മററും ചന്തയിൽ വിററഴിയുന്ന ചരക്കുകൾ എപ്പേർപ്പെട്ടതും മേല്പടി മാസം ൧൨൹ മുതൽ തിങ്കളാഴ്ചതോറും മേലെഴുതിയ ചരക്കുകൾ ടി ചന്തയിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്നു കച്ചവടക്കാരും കുടിയാനവന്മാരുടെയും സമ്മതപ്രകാരം വിററു കൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണവും ഈ വകയിൽ തീരുവ ഉള്ള ചരക്കുകൾ തിരുവനന്തപുരം ചവുക്കയിൽ നിന്നും ചന്തയിൽ ആളുവന്നു

തീരുവവാങ്ങിച്ചുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണവും കുടിയാനവന്മാർ മുതലായ ആളുകൾ ചരക്കുകൾ കൊണ്ടുവന്നാൽ അവരുടെ സമ്മതപ്രകാരം വില്ക്കുന്ന വിലയ്ക്കു കമ്പിനിശിപായി ഉൾപ്പെട്ട ആളുകൾ വാങ്ങിച്ചു കൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണവും കച്ചവടക്കാറരോടും കുടിയാനവന്മാരുടെ നേൎക്കും യാതൊരു ശല്യങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യാതെയിരിക്കേണ്ടുന്നതിനു അനന്തപുരം ചാവടിയിൽ കൊത്തുവാലും പുത്തൻചന്തയിൽ പാളയത്തിൽ കൊത്തുവാലും കമ്പനിശിപായികളിൽ ഒരു പാറാജനവും ചന്തതോറും വന്നു പാൎത്തു ചട്ടംകെട്ടിക്കൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണവും നാം നിശ്ചയിച്ചു നിദാനം വരുത്തിയിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ഇപ്രകാരം കുടിയാനവന്മാർ കച്ചവടക്കാറരുൾപ്പെട്ട സകല മാനജനങ്ങളും അറിഞ്ഞു മേലെഴുതിയ ചന്തയിൽ ചരക്കുകൾ കൊണ്ടു വന്നു വില്ക്കയും വാങ്ങിക്കക്കയും ചെയ്തു കൊള്ളുകയുംവേണം. എന്നു ൯൮൨-ാമാണ്ടു മേടമാസം ൧൭-

DOCUMENT IX

നമുക്കു ഒരു സന്തോഷമുണ്ടായാലും വ്യസനമുണ്ടായാലും നമ്മുടെ കാരണവന്മാരെ ബോധിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളാമെന്നു പറവാനും ആരും ഇല്ലല്ലൊ. അതുകൊണ്ടു നമ്മുടെ കാരണവന്മാൎക്കു സമമായിട്ടു കർണ്ണലിനെയത്രെ നാം വിചാരിച്ചിരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതു.

DOCUMENT X

തിരുമാസം കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥ കൊണ്ടു ശാസ്ത്രികൾ ഏതാനും ശ്ലോകം ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നതു നാം കേട്ടാറേ നമുക്കു സന്തോഷമാകകൊണ്ടും ആയതു കർണ്ണലും കൂടി കേൾപ്പാനുള്ളതാകകൊണ്ടും ആ ശ്ലോകങ്ങൾ കർണ്ണലിനെ കേൾപ്പിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം ശാസ്ത്രികളോടു പറഞ്ഞയച്ചിട്ടും ഉണ്ടു.

DOCUMENT XI

Letter to Colonel Munro

നമുക്കു സഹോദര............ വിശേഷാൽ ശ്രീപത്മനാഭന്റെ തിരുനാൾ വരുന്നതു ചിങ്ങമാസത്തിൽ തിരുവോണം ആകകൊണ്ടും മലയാളത്തിൽ ആഘോഷമായിട്ടുള്ള ദിവസമാകകൊണ്ടും ശ്രീപത്മനാഭന്റെ പ്രസാദമായിട്ടു നമുക്കു സ്നേഹമായിട്ടും വാത്സല്യമായിട്ടും കൂടെ ഉള്ള ആളുകൾക്കു ഓണക്കോടി കൊടുക്ക മൎയ്യാദ അത്രേ ആകുന്നു. അതിന്മണ്ണം നമുക്കു സഹോദരനുതുല്യമായിരിക്കുന്ന കർണ്ണലിനും ബിവിസാവിനും കുഴന്തകൾക്കും പത്മനാഭന്റെ പ്രസാദം ഓണക്കോടി അരിക്കാറൻ നാഗയ്യൻ മുതൽപേരു വശം കൊടുത്തയയ്ക്കുന്നു. നാം സന്തോഷമായിട്ടു കൊടുത്തയക്കുന്ന ഓണക്കോടി കർണ്ണലും ബിവിസാവും വാങ്ങിച്ചു നമ്മുടെ മനസ്സിനെ സന്തോഷിപ്പിക്കയും ചെയ്യുമല്ലൊ.

൯൮൩-ാമാണ്ടു ചിങ്ങമാസം ൧൧-

(തുല്യം)

DOCUMENT XII

Letter to Mrs. Munro

നമുക്കു എത്രയും അന്യോന്യ വിശ്വാസമായിട്ടു സഹോദരതുല്യമായിരിക്കുന്ന ബിബിസാവിനു.

ബിബിസാവിനും കുഴന്തകൾക്കും ശരീരത്തിന്ന നല്ല സൌഖ്യമില്ലെന്ന കുറഞ്ഞൊരു ദിവസത്തിനമുമ്പിൽ കണ്ണലിന്റെ കട്ടദാസ്സ എഴുതിവന്ന നാൾമുതൽ രാപ്പകൽ നമുക്ക മനസ്സിന്ന സുഖക്കേടായിരിക്കകൊണ്ട ഇപ്പോൾ അറിവിടെ വന്ന ബിബിസാവിനെയും കുഴന്തകളെയും കണ്ട വരുന്നതിന്നായിട്ട അരിക്കാറരെ അയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ബിബിസാവും കുഴന്തകളും സുഖമായിരിക്കണമെന്ന ശ്രീപത്മനാഭസ്വാമിയിടെ സന്നിധിയിങ്കൽ നാം പ്രാൎത്ഥിച്ച വരികകൊണ്ട സുഖസന്തോഷാദിശയങ്ങൾക്ക കൂടക്കൂടെ എഴുതി കൊടുത്തയച്ച നമ്മെ സന്തോഷിക്കയും ചെയ്യുമല്ലൊ. സ്നേഹമായിട്ടും വാത്സല്യമായിട്ടും ഉള്ള ആളുകൾ ചിങ്ങമാസത്തിൽ ഓണത്തിന്ന ഓണക്കോടി കൊടുക്ക ഇവിടെ മൎയ്യാദ ഉള്ളതാകകൊണ്ട അരിക്കാറരിടെ പക്കൽ വസ്ത്രംകൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും ആയ്തും സന്തോഷമായിട്ട കൈപ്പററുകയും വേണം.

൯൮൮ ചിങ്ങം ൨൰൹

(തുല്യം)

DOCUMENT XIII

എന്നെന്നേക്കും രക്ഷിതാവയിട്ടിരിക്കേണ്ടുന്നതിന്ന ഇപ്പോൾ കാണപ്പെട്ട ആളുകളിൽ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഇംഗിരീസ്സ കമ്പനിക്ക സമം സത്യവും, ന്യായവും, ധൎമ്മാധൎമ്മവിചാരവും ഉണ്ടായിട്ട മററാരും തന്നെ ഇല്ലെന്ന അവതാരശക്തി എന്നപോലെ എഴുന്നുള്ളിയിരുന്ന അമ്മാവന്മാർ ഉള്ളപ്പോൾ തന്നെ നിശ്ചയിച്ച കമ്പനിയെ മിത്രമായിട്ട വച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും.

DOCUMENT XIV

Letter t፣ Colonel Munro.

കണ്ണൽസാഹെബ അവർകൾക്ക.

ഇംകിരിയസ്സ സൎക്കാരിന്നും നമ്മുടെ സൎക്കാരിന്നും ഒരു ഭേദമില്ലാതെ വളരെ സ്നേഹം താല്പൎയ്യമായിരിക്കകൊണ്ടും ആ സൎക്കാൎക്ക വളരെ സന്തോഷമായിട്ട ആണ്ട തോറുകകൊണ്ടും നമുക്ക വളരെ അപേക്ഷ ഉണ്ട. ഈ ശീമയിൽ സേവിക്കുന്ന ധുരമാർകൾ ധുരശാണികളും പുത്തൻആണ്ട മുതതിയ്യതിക്ക നമ്മുടെ പക്കത്തിൽ ഒരു വിരുന്തു ഒരെടത്തു കൂടി അനുസരിക്കണം. ഇതു കാൎയ്യം കണ്ണൽ എല്ലാ ഇടത്തും അറിയപ്പെടുത്തി ചട്ടംകെട്ടി ഈ വകയ്ക്കു കണ്ണൽ വേണ്ടുംപ്രകാരം കഴിപ്പിക്കണം. ഈ വകയ്ക്കുള്ള ചിലവും ഹജ്ജൂർ ഖജനാവിൽ നിന്ന ചിലവിട്ടവിച്ച കൊള്ളുകയും ചെയ്യുമല്ലൊ. ഇക്കാൎയ്യം നമുക്ക വളരെ സന്തോഷം. ൯൮൯-ാമാണ്ട ധനുമാസം ൨൰൹ (തുല്യംചാൎത്ത്)

DOCUMENT XV

L-tter to Colonel Munro.

കണ്ണൽ സാഹെബ അവർകൾക്ക.

ബങ്കാളത്തുന്നിന്നും ഗൌണർ ജന്നൽ ബഹാദർ അവർകൾ നമുക്കും കൊച്ചുമ്മിണിക്കും രണ്ട കാകിതം എഴുതികൊടുത്തയച്ചതിനെ ഇവിടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നും ആയതിൽ ഹിമവൽപൎവ്വതത്തിന്ന താഴ്വരയിൽ നേർപാളം എന്ന രാജ്യം യുദ്ധം ചെയ്തു ജയിച്ച മേലിൽ നടപ്പാൻ ഉള്ളതിന്ന ന്യായപ്രകാരമായിട്ട ഉടമ്പടിക്ക മുതലായ ചട്ടവട്ടങ്ങൾ വരുത്തി ആ വൎത്തമാനങ്ങൾക്ക ഒക്കെയും 'വിലാത്തിക്ക എഴുതി അയച്ചാറെ ആയതു ഒക്കെയും അവി

ടത്തിൽ സമ്മതിച്ചു സന്തോഷപ്പെട്ടു ഗെവണർ ജന്നൽബഹാദർ അവർകൾക്കു മ്യാക്കീസു ഇഷ്ടിംകസ എന്നു പേരും കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥകൾ ആയിട്ടും പെണ്ടാരികൾ എന്നു ഒരു വക ആളുകൾ പൂനാ ഹൈദർബാദർ മുതലായ രാജ്യങ്ങളിൽ കൂടക്കൂടെ വന്നു ഉപദ്രവപ്പെടുത്തിവരുന്നതിനാൽ ആയതു ചട്ടംകെട്ടുവാനായിട്ടു ഡല്ലി പ്രദേശത്തേക്കു യാത്രയായിട്ടു പോവാൻ ഭാവിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥകളും ഇതിനുണ്ണും രണ്ടുകൂട്ടം സംഗതിയും എഴുതിയിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നും അതിൻെറ വിപരങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും കാകിതം വായിച്ചുനോക്കുമ്പോൾ ബോധിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള അവസ്ഥകൊണ്ടും കണ്ണൂൽ ഈ മാസം ൰൩- എഴുതിയ കാകിതവും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ജന്നൽ ബഹാദർ അവർകളിടെ കാകിതം രണ്ടും ൧൩- അസ്തമിപ്പാൻ ഒരു മണിക്കു ഇവിടെ വന്നു ചേർന്നു നാം വായിച്ചുകേട്ടു എത്രയും വളര വളരെ സന്തോഷമാകയും ചെയ്തു. ഇനിയും മേല്ക്കുമേലും അധികശ്രേയസ്സായിട്ടുവന്നു സുഖസന്തോഷത്തോടും കൂടേ ഗെവണർ ജന്നൽബഹാദർ സൌഖ്യമായിരിക്കുന്ന പ്രകാരം നാം ബോധിക്കുന്നതിനു കൂടക്കൂടെ എഴുതിവരണമെന്നു അപേക്ഷ ആയിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു ആയവസ്ഥകളും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കുംപിനിയാർ അവർകളിടെ കൃപകൊണ്ടു കണ്ണൂൽ നമ്മുടെ മനസ്സിൻ പ്രകാരം ചട്ടവട്ടത്തോടും നീതിയോടും വേണ്ടുംവണ്ണം വിചാരിച്ചു നടത്തിച്ചു വരുന്നതിനാൽ നാമും കുഞ്ഞുങ്ങളും സുഖസന്തോഷത്തോടുംകൂടെ പാൎക്കുന്ന സംഗതികളും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗെവണർ ജന്നൽ മ്യാക്കീസു ഇഷ്ടിംക്സബഹാദർ അവർകൾ ബോധിക്കുന്നതിനു എഴുതി അയക്കണം എന്നും മനസ്സായിരിക്കുന്നു. ബംഗാളത്തുനിന്നും വന്ന കാകിതം രണ്ടിനും മുൻഷിയെകൊണ്ടു പാൎശിയിൽ നക്കൽ എഴുതിച്ചു ഇതിനോടുകൂടെ കൊടുത്തയച്ചിട്ടും ഉണ്ടു. നമുക്കും കുഞ്ഞുങ്ങൾക്കും സൌഖ്യം തന്നെ ആകുന്നു. കണ്ണൂലിൻെറ സുഖസന്തോഷത്തിനും ബിവീസാ ശീമയിൽഎത്തി കുഞ്ഞുങ്ങളോടുംകൂടെ സൌഖ്യമായിരിക്കുന്ന അവസ്ഥയുംകൂടക്കൂടെ എഴുതി വരികയും വേണം.

൯൮൦-ാമാണ്ടു കൎക്കടകമാസം ൯൰-

(തുല്യംചാർത്തു)

CORRECTIONS

Page 24, Col. 1. of குறத்தியறை: read of குரத்தியறை
Page 26, Col. 2. திருத்தகரை: read கிருததரை
Page 28, Col. 2. ஆமொட்டிச்சு: read ஆடுபாட்டிச்சு
Page 51, Col. 1. രാജികാ read രാജികം
Page 52, Col. 1. from and: read from land
Page 68, Doc. IX. വിചാരിച്ചിരിച്ചിരി: read വിചാരിച്ചിരി

Subscriptions Received

1103 M. E. (*Continued*)

60. H. H. Ravi Varma Kochu Koil Tampuran, Travancore
61. Mr. Malloor K. Govinda Pillai, Trivandrum
62. Mr. K. Parameswaran Pillai, Do.
63. Mr. Mathew Kollamparampil, Vycome,
64. Mr. N. P. Tampan, Kartigappalli
65. Mr. C. Antappai, Trichur
66. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai, Trivandrum
67. Mr. C. N. A. Ramayya Sastri, Do.

1104 M. E.

1. Mrs. Poonen Lukose, Trivandrum
2. Mr. A. Gopala Menon, Do.
3. Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon, Ernakulam
4. Mr. T. K. Joseph, Trivandrum
5. Rev. Romeo Thomas, C. D., Mannanam
6. Mr. K. K. Lukose, Trivandrum
7. Mr. A. Govinda Variyar, Trichur
8. Khan Saheb M. K. Khadir Pillai, Alway
9. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Trivandrum
10. Most Rev. Dr. Angel Mary, Verapoly
11. Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Bombay
12. Mr. P. K. Kuruvila, Kayamkulam
13. Rev. J. Palocaren, Trichur
14. Rao Sahib S. Parameswara Aiyar, Trivandrum
15. H. H. Ravi Varma Kochu Koil Tampuran, Travancore
16. Rt. Rev. E. A. L. Moore, Kottayam
17. Rt. Rev. A. M. Benziger, Quilon
18. Most Rev. Augustine Kandathil, Ernakulam
19. Mr. N. Krishna Pillai, Irinjalakkuda
20. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai, Trivandrum
21. Mr. V. Narayana Pillai, Do.
22. Mr. P. G. Sahasranama Iyer, Do.
23. Mr. S. Ramiah, Do.
24. Mr. K. Mamman, Do.
25. Mr. T. Damodaran Nambisan, Do.
26. Mr. A. Narayanan Tampi, Do.
27. Mr. C. S. Balakrishna Variar, Do.
28. Mr. K. V. Ramakrishna Iyer, Do.

21-2-24/L
18/4/75 / L
2/3/76/L
9193/87
236

1105 M. E.

1. Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, Trivandrum
2. Mr. S. Sankara Variyar, Tiruvalla
3. Rev. W. S. Hunt, Tiruvalla
4. Rev. J. Palocaren, Trichur
5. Rev. Romeo Thomas, C. D., Mannanam
6. Rt. Rev. E. A. L. Moore, Kottayam
7. Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Bombay
8. Most Rev. Dr. Angel Mary, Verapoly

1106 M. E.

1. Mr. A. G. Menon, Parur
2. Dr. L. A. Ravi Varma, Trivandrum
3. Mr. M. Udaya Varma Raja, Mavelikkara
4. Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Bombay

LIFE MEMBERSHIP (*Continued*)

6. H. H. The Valia Koil Tampuran, Travancore. Rs. 100.

DONATION

H. H. The Maharani Regent of Travancore. S. Rs. 300.